The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565] though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582 cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tóboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586 Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 171 175 [888]
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have [582]
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, [595]
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond [622]
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of [684]
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman [847]
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at [855]
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo [888]
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less [291]
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- [276]
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." [562]

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 541
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her [784]
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- [582]
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman [607]
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

cousins. Ika being the younger. Their mothers are half sisters, having had 593
one father but different mothers. Ika's mother is the superior of the two 605
sisters apparently only because she is the older. But this superiority makes 561
Ika superior to Fakatoumafi. When the two cousins bear children, it is 562
not the relative age of the children, but the rank of their mothers, that will determine the superiority or inferiority of the offspring. So even though Ika is the younger of the two cousins, her children will rank Fakatoumafi's children. The children of Ika's older sister, however, will be superior to Ika's children because their mother is the older of the two sisters. But Ika's children will be superior to her older brother's children, and in fact to all of her brothers' children, because of Ika's superiority to all of her brothers—based on the principle that sisters rank brothers. 565

Concerning rank in relation to eating, P. A. C. (46, p. xv) in substance 554
says the following: "It was forbidden to an inferior to eat or drink in the 264
presence of his superior, and no one was allowed to eat before the Tui [643]
Tonga, who himself might not eat in the presence of the elders of his [593]
family." That this statement applies within the family as well as in society in general is obvious from the reference to the Tui Tonga and the elders of his family.

THE FAMILY, THE KEY TO TONGAN SOCIETY

Ranking of individuals within the Tongan family, termed *lahi* (abun- 593
dance, plenty, greatness), is the key to the organization of Tongan society 565
in every stratum. From bottom to top and from top to bottom of the 561
social ladder one general scheme of family organization prevails. As the 562
Tui Tonga is *eiki* (chief) to his younger brothers, so in every Tongan family 554
the older brother is chief to his younger brothers. As the Female Tui Tonga is superior to her brother, the Male Tui Tonga, so in every family in the land the oldest sister is superior to the oldest brother. A common man's sister's children are *fahu* to him and may exact what they wish; the Tui Tonga was often *fahu* to the Tui Kanokupolu; and the Tamaha, the highest earthly dignitary, was always *fahu* to the Tui Tonga.

Relatively speaking, in every household there are chiefs and commoners.
As in the family no two individuals are identical in rank, so in the enlarged 602
family, with its greater number of degrees and consequent widening of the 554
extremes. In reckoning the interrelationship of all the individuals descended from a common remote ancestor, the range in rank from the lowest to the highest becomes greater still, and the intermediate degrees of rank are
exceedingly numerous. The fact that the Tui Tonga and his cooks (among [643]
the lowest of commoners) were blood relatives is an illustration. In brief [565]
then, a commoner is an individual who by virtue of descent through a series

DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. 593
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, 562
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually suc- [622]
cessful in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, [833]
vol. 2, pp. 157.)

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, 593
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, 428
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near 349
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not
exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It
is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and
5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents
of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear
reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel
custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau
Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a cer- 593
tain spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large [103]
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is
called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have 593
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother- 784
sister tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide appli- 605
cation, which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor."
The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofefine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is some- 593
what relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a 605
sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though 784
they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister
might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he
was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or [684]
mother's brother would do that. [604]

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In 593
one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother 784
after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the [553]
grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach [605]
him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without
restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter [597]
of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to
adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a viola- 605
tion of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils 784
will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into 582
close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the
will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes 593
do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice 605
this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked 784
for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A Euro- 521
pean standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the [576]
girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay,
for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to con-
verse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting
that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly 593
give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the 605
following to say: 784

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, 604
both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the 605
brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their
mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods, [425]

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. 425 604
Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a 605
man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The [837]
brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. [585]
The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims [431]
never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no 604
closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, 605
whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real [593]
or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that 604

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother,
> and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find [425]
> the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to 603
> him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that 604
> his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the [425]
> mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through 604
one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. [784]
Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the
law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual prac- [421]
tice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appro- [425]
priate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his
mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the [603]
same privilege (15, p. 30).

As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to 604
the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the 613
Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga
Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook 175
(19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latooliibooloo assumed the privilege 604
of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." 613
Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless 604
the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than 593
the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of 554
each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically 604
connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's 582
daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children 597
are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly 604
children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child 597
is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who 593
adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is [784]
still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards [604]
her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that
individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is [553]
seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is 597
taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established [609]
is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and Labillardière 535
(37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate children 643
that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, married [173]
Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 643
94, 344). 595
593

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer 643
who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would 493
stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given 461
the land around which he ran without a spell. [425]

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not 643
be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his 425
retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from 643
the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated 466
stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The 349
blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weigh- 764
ing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of
one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of [712]
centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest 643
mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a 349
mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose 643
her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were 644
responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's 687
discretion.

The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki.* 643
The *vaoeiki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga 644
to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being 643
well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is employed 576
to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in 195
the second person, *hoo,* or the third person, *ae*. "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala,* was worn only by the Tui Tonga and 643
the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only 301
upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of 824
fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The envelope 643
(*loutoumc*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal 302
therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same 643
time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed 412
for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which 272
have a sweet mint-like fragrance. 262

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the 643
office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following 644
information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classifiication is purely one based upon rank and the rank in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives 643
of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related. 644
602

1. **Fahu.** Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui [601]
   Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga.
2. **Kaingaefi.** The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is [593]
   meant full brothers and sisters.)
3. **Matapule.** Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.
4. **Kainangafonua.** Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.
5. **Tamai e eiki.** Cooks and low people.

The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her 576
foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of 643
any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the 644
kaingaofi with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-* 604
fonua suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was sup- 593
posed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too 75
low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the 565
abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga 75
washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems 643
doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the 776
Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but 769
only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea 793
of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were repre- 643
sented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically men- 622
tioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa 776
or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai
Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows 634
(op. cit., pp. 276, 277): 776

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafäihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration 643
for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* 585
ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity 764
of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) pe- 765
culiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went 304
to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of 195
speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

their shoulders. The procession moved slowly forward to the house where 431
Mr. Watkin was sojourning. On entering the premises the people shouted 793
and drums were beaten. On October 5, other processions brought gifts of
food. These were accompanied by a playing band and intermittent church
meetings were held. On the day of his arrival, Mr. Watkin was paid a 793
signal honor such as was anciently paid to the Tui Tonga or the Tamaha. 576
When he neared the landing place ten black-frocked ministers of the Free
Church waded into the water, picked up the row boat, and carried it bodily
ashore with him in it.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Although there is much gradation in rank, the Tongans recognize three 565
general classes of people—chiefs (*houeiki*), chiefs' attendants (matapule),
and commoners (*tua*). Commoners are sometimes called also *kainanga oe fonua* (eaters of the land; *kainanga*, one who eats the leavings of others), *lauvale* (an opprobrious term), or *matatangata* (good-looking—a more or less complimentary term). To symbolize weakness and strength, the term *polata* (banana stalk) is applied to commoners, and *fau* (*Hibiscus*), to chiefs. An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana), applied to the people of Haano and Uiha islands, Haapai, who are under the chiefs Tui Haa Ngana and Malupo.

The attitude of the lower classes towards their chiefs is one of respect 622
and obedience. Undoubtedly the chiefs and the matapule are far better in- 565
formed than are the commoners. A man and wife on Nomuka Island who gave me a considerable amount of information advanced their opinions with some diffidence and apologetically said, "We do not know everything, because we are only matapule people. You should go to the chiefs."

In relation to the Queen and to the Queen's viceroys (the governors of 643
the Haapai and Vavau groups) all subjects are relatively speaking com- 565
moners. I had this forcibly visualized for me at several assemblages (*fono*) 634
when the Governor of Haapai was present. Because he took the place of the Queen, high chief and commoner alike appeared before him wearing ragged mats as emblems of respect and humility.

In a generic sense, the term *tua* is applicable to any person, even a chief 565
or matapule, who is not "clever in Tongan ways," who does not act accord- 196
ing to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish. This [576]
term also may be used by the head of a family in reference to its members, [593]
but may not be used about people of low rank in another family. It is employed also when one is angry, as, for example, *oua angafakatua* (do not act like a commoner).

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this 565
happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded 581
as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few 558
chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, [689]
if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the
daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would
not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous 565
marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the 581
several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of 558 428
chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining [595]
only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only
the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind
the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their [593]
descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated 565
in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the 581
title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except 558
the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In
ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs,
inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master,
the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has 565
summed up the relationship of chief and commoner: 622

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal
> and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
> purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief
> had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace;
> but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a
> lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together
> with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins,
> in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs,
> leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries 565
> had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the 622
> grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves,
> because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but 797
> a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and 178
> clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges
> which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and 613 641
people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom. 565

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one 565
of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me 622
that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that 602
all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact,
usually constituting the following of a chief.

The
inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by conquerors, 829
but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of 186
differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men possessed 565
ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the
wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No
doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin
of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was
ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been
effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into [167]
the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives 565
to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine 622
warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the
people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to
their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the [423]
chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the [427]
tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a
father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, 565
three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the 593
superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) 604
the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and
his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to
the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district
of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the
chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, 554
particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and 576
on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* 592
(*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between 554
the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping chamber, 574
facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other
sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house
ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking
guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a, b, c,* 592
were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, 554
d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should 574 565

his high position is derived from the Tui Tonga, chiefliness is an attribute 622
which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga. [643]

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called ***houeiki*** (***hou,*** a collective prefix; ***eiki,*** chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) [773]
the term ***houeiki*** applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pele- [613]
hake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (***toa***) and "chiefs by the hand" (***eiki i he nima***), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective.

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, 622
Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horse- 178
whips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men [689]
who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared.

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly 622
blood. The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half- 827
chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (***ngeesi tahá***). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term ***vaataha***—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be ***eiki*** because of his father's royal blood.

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken [554]
of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner.

The terms ***eikimotu, eikitaupotu,*** and ***eikitoho*** refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term ***eikisii*** means a petty chief. The term ***eikianga*** designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any 622
person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression for title is ***hingoa fakanofo*** (literally, appointment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a 622
title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in 554
rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of [593]
his four classes of society: ***eiki,*** matapule, ***mua,*** and ***tua.*** This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank.

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so 622
far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first [798]

and the subsequent apprehension and cruel punishment of his murderers 682
(26, p. 34). 687

Many fights occur at *pola* fishing (p. 146). Some young man on the out- 226
side of the fishing fence, where all except the officials belong until the signal 578
is given to cross it, seeing his enemy close at hand among the *kauleo* delib-
erately crosses the fence and fishes on the wrong side. His enemy strives to
break his spear and drive him back. Other young men take sides and use
their spears for purposes other than fishing. It is the duty of the older men [887]
to stop such fights (*toutakao*).

To call a person *matapapanga* (flat-faced person) constitutes an out- 576
rageous insult to the man or woman so denoted. 578

A sort of preemptive right to all the women of their districts was ac- 622
cepted by the people as a chief's prerogative. The late Ata used to lie in wait 837
for women beside the road, and none dared complain, because he was a high 634
chief.

A great chief, whose daughter or other female living with him was 622
seduced, would order people to bring the culprit, and the chief himself, or 684
someone delegated to do so, would beat the man over the face and body 565
with a branch of *loholoho* (coconut stem from which small nuts hang), and
send him home. The girl would be beaten also and might be sent back to
her seducer after a beating in public or in presence of her family. A seducer
was beaten even though a chief, provided the girl he seduced was of higher
rank and provided marriage did not follow at once.

A man who had intercourse with a young girl before her first menstrua- 684
tion would be beaten severely or killed, according to the extent of the anger
of the girl's relatives. The father of the girl or her maternal male relatives [593]
avenged her, but not her brothers.

No compounding for the crime of raping a young girl was tolerated. 684
If a daughter of a high chief was raped and the culprit knew that the chief 622
had knowledge of the fact, the man would go and tell his whole family 565
of what he had done. The family would ask the grandson of the chief to 684
intercede, and wearing girdles of *ifi* leaves around the neck and waist, 622
would go to the father of the outraged girl. The man and his family 603
would sit down outside the chief's house, bow down their heads and send 565
his grandson in to him. The grandson would call out the chief's name and
say: "Excuse me. These people have come here with me. Excuse me,
don't be angry, or if you are angry do what you like to me, but let these
people go free." The grandson and not the son of the chief would be the [593]
interceder because the son must show respect to both father and sister, while
the grandson may take liberties. If the chief were clement, the affair was 684
ended. No gifts were given, for if he accepted gifts it would be disgrace- 622
ful, as it would look like encouragement of the act. It was customary for 565

A chief's
son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was 881
no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son. 622

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He 881
was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be 304
an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, [157]
previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire
confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but [593]
might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the [605]
community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator [604]
who was to officiate. [887]

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the [515]
sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were
brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated
outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no
importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates.
The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called
hekeheka. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual [516]
tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to [412]
have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored
tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving
only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the
operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some
> of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled [824]
> back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-* [752]
> *ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged
> with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between
> the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one 881
> might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They 784
> could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in
> the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered [831]
> from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended
> from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything [262]
> sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating
> of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath
> for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the 514
> body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, 881
> while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from
> running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a
> swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It
> was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation,
as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present [431]
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* 581
(duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

[837]
[684]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
>
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

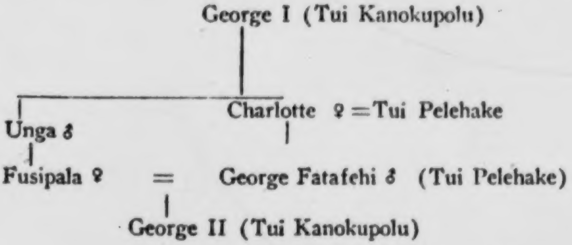
The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622 302
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 543 431
presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage 582
of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622] [565]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare. 582


George I (Tui Kanokupolu)
Unga ♂
Charlotte ♀ = Tui Pelehake
Fusipala ♀ = George Fatafehi ♂ (Tui Pelehake)
George II (Tui Kanokupolu)

[601]

1

Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children. [593] [605]

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*. 595

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife. 595 622 565 595

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise. 521 [834] [837] [574]

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she [302]

there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set 585
up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same
community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be
required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) [515]
and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare
themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to
arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards
to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion,
each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, [602]
both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's
own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family [593]
whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as
fae called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from [515]
head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality [302]
depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were [291]
wrapped about the waist. [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveeva* (mother to walk for pleasure).
When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae*
stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each
had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and
a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, [302]
and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue!
tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking 585
slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were 431
equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint [302]
him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people
in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together
by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother 585
assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular
the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats [513]
covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept
with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a
late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the [515]
occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had [302]
retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went
to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in
charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the
bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bride-
groom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into
his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should 585
experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this 833
respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. [565]
When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white 585
tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great dis-
turbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law
to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed
covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further
celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had
committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night.
In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged
grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and
brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bride-
groom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed [515]
her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound [302]
fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called
kofokofo.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered
about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good [834]
mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage. [543]

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by 585
his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present 565
Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are [584]
agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters]
of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed,
the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps
as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The
party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances,
accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui
Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the
house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784]
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602]
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462]
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection [565]
with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

Only
the ***haatufunga*** were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found 764
outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the [784]
great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu [767]
(Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga),
and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place 764
during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied 349
upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest 643
of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and 622
Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest 764
Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment 349
stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive 793
enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the 764
people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain 565
cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while
others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity [177]
has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and [593]
wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception
of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an 143
albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living
at Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai,
was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants 826
as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, [266]
a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos
concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general
ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker 838
defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island,
vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there
were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.) 576

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [565] [593] [595] [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden). [482]

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament. [195]

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap. [554] [516]

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down. 264 [576]

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 516 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too. 854

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles. 291 [171]

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another. 201

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. 514 [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*pao*), also wear the hair quite short. 302 [886]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

582

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the [793]
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [276]
1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was
given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to
Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from [669]
Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong	[539]
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea	
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.	

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, (825)
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778 seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825 his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776 water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai,* nor the pretty little skink called *pili,* seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778 cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171] of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778 multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776 god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and departed [775] relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784] *tupui otua* or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's conduct. 778 Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428] another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian, especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God. A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777] of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term *mofi* (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god, which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offerings, [776] was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other informants [782] said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A person [777] who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778 a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753 be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593] by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

> If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he 778
> will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," 753
> meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall
> sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana) 554
> of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another [593]
> will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying
> that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is
> the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from
> Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking [755]
> the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry
> person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists
> of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief
> (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the 778
god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a 411
spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

> Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability 778
to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the 755
mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. 775
Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called 774
laumalie for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem 774
to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours,
but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* 775
is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a (787)
relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In [565]
modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the [178]
basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

> The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763 775 764
>
> When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity. 763 753 768 593

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue. 763 784 764 262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death. 626 763 695

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession. 695 626 685 [763] [783]

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders. 675 779 782

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves." 782

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu 784 [171]

the enemy were assembled. As they approached, 669
a shower of arrows was discharged upon 726
them; but Finow ordered a mataboole to advance
forward and request an armistice, that 669
each party might take leave of what friends and 726
relations they might have among their opponents[*]; 593
which being granted, a number came 602
out of the garrison to take a farewell of their
relatives,—perhaps the last farewell of those
who were about to fight against them. Here
ensued a moving scene; many tears were shed
on both sides, and many a last embrace exchanged.
This affecting spectacle had lasted 669
about two hours, when a circumstance accidentally 726
occurred, unfortunate enough in its 727
consequences, but which might have turned
out still more so. One of the enemy, upon the
outer bank of the fortress, wantonly shot an
arrow at Mr. Mariner, but which fortunately
missed him, and stuck in a tree close at his

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[*] In a civil war at these islands, as well as at other places, it often happens that sons have to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers; but what renders this circumstance still more common at Tonga, is the adherence to an old established custom, which binds every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happens to be at the time the war is declared, unless some circumstance, as particular relationship between great men, engages the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to depart.

669 brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai
727 islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and
728 harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to
settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to peti-
643 tion the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

796 As soon as the king heard of their arrival at
Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-
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tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, superior [593]
even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder brother. [554]
Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his followers, [576]
being all dressed in large mats, expressive
of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the divine 669
spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection towards
"them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

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CHAPTER XII.

000 Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Voona—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.

593 Shortly after Toobó Malóhi and his followers
634 had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's
758 younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lolángi*
[551] (which, in the Hamoa language, means de-
[778] scended from the sky), about six or seven years
[776] of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was
removed from her father's house to another
inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo,
755 the patron god of the *Hows.* Almost every
782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-
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sented before the house, as an offering to the 755
god, that he might spare her life for the sake 782
of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of 593
the matabooles, and sometimes two or three 634
in succession, made an address to the invoked [565]
divinity (for he had no priest), to the following
purpose: "Here thou seest assembled Finow "and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles "of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), "thou seest them humbled "before thee. We pray thee not to be merciless, but spare the life of the woman* for "the sake of her father, who has always been "attentive to every religious ceremony†: but "if thy anger is justly excited by some crime "or misdemeanor committed by any other of "us who are here assembled, we entreat thee "to inflict on the guilty one the punishment "which he merits, and not to let go thy vengeance on one who was born but as yesterday. For our own parts, why do we wish to "live but for the sake of Finow; but if his "family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

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* On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*. [195]

† Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise. [171]

755 "cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 "merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 "and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
593 "ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
"is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
"*Moomoóe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
"not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
"why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) "have regard
"for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i foo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter get-
782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
593 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[787]
[776]

to a priest called *Toobò Téa*, who was accustomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god *Toobò Totái*. On this island several enclosures or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one of which his daughter was carried, and the same offering and same kind of address was frequently made; but in this case, not before the consecrated house where the sick child lay, but wherever the priest happened to be, which was generally at his own house or at Finow's. It must here be remarked that those gods who have priests are invoked in the person of the inspired priest wherever he may happen to be: those who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late instance with *Tali-y-Toobò*, who has no priest. 755 782 634 593 793 787 776 [484] [778] [565]

Toobò Totái was thus invoked every day, in the person of his priest, during a fortnight or three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest entreaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and when he did, it was, for the most part, to the following effect; "Why do you weary yourselves with entreating me?" (speaking as if he were the god) "if the power to restore the woman rested solely with me, I would do it: be assured it is all done by the will of the 787 793 755 634 593 [276] [753]

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

787 793 "gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the
755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her
634 hand and shed tears. During this time the ma-
599 tabooles frequently repaired to the house of the
[753] priest, and laying cava before him, consulted
[565] him privately. On one of these occasions, Fi-
[276] now not being present, he told them that if they knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If "my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all "my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have "any resentment against us, let the whole "weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear "not their vengeance,—but spare my child; "and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to "exert all your influence with the other gods, "that I alone may suffer all the punishment "they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his
634 spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride,
763 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation,
that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat 793
better, but did not communicate what 784 593
they had heard from his priest. This however 776
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and 203
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and protector,)
784 during his illness, coming to the *cook-house*
593 and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
793 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
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daughter also to be carried on board ; then following 694
himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went *and presented* cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's consecrated [276]
house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already instructed
"you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attendants
rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 694 763
divine vengeance was removed to several other
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would derive
benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

598 speechless. During the night her father, with
634 anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat,
763 watching, with sighs and tears, the progress
of her disorder. The next morning, which brought no sign of returning health to enliven the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave directions to proceed to Macâvĕ, the place at Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect) *Booboonoo*, *Cacahoo*, and several other great warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By the time they had got a little more than half way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately all the female attendants began to lament in a most woful strain, beating their breasts with violent agitation, and exhibiting every mark of sorrow and despair;—but Finow sat in silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of
598 his daughter. In a little time they reached the
634 coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large
764 house, called Böóno, (six posts,) on the *malái*
at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, all habited in mats. The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a mixture of oil and water: after which it was anointed with sandal-wood oil.

598 It must be here noticed, that the king had
634 determined, in the event of his daughter's
764 death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga
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fashion, but partly according to that, partly 593
agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly 634
according to a fancy of his own. After the 764
body was washed and anointed with oil, it was 766
wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine [177]
East India embroidered muslin, which had
formerly belonged to one of the officers of the
Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large
cedar chest, which had been made on board
the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out
of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over
the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made
for the purpose by her female attendants.
Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody [292
should wear mats, (although it was customary 301
on such solemn occasions,) but should dress 177]
themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa
custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their
necks, he ordered that they should wear
wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his
own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing.
The chest was placed on two large bales
of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the
body laid thus in state for the space of twenty
days; during which time Mooónga Toobó, Finow's
principal wife, and all her female attendants,
remained constantly with the body. In [533]
the course of the first night the mourners broke
out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

593 634 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
764 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
766 that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
[533] this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain their grief, beating their breasts with every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally interpreted) an impious and revengeful endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those ceremonies not to be performed which were considered objects of religious duty on such sacred occasions. Every morning and evening provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment of those who attended on the body.
[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made for the express purpose, and nicely polished by one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
[562] custom). By this time the body had become much inflated, and extremely offensive; but the office of removing it was performed by some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

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[177] [171] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

During the whole 593
of this day, and the following night, the body 634
inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened 764
down, remained in the house: in the 766
mean time Finow issued orders for a general 765
assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to take place the ensuing morning before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, ac- 634
cording to Finow's orders, assembled before 593
the house, where there was a large supply of 765
provisions and cava for the conclusion of the 766
ceremony. In the mean time the body was
conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was depo- [764]
sited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the [526]
caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions

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apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to [177]
prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of [171]
a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

593 634 765 766 526 and cava were shared out, they began the entertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual at festivals. After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats by single engagements, the king gave orders that all the women who resided north of the *mooa* should arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the *mooa*, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. [164] The women, however, readily engaged, and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side; nor would the battle have subsided then, if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist, the battle having cost them several sprained ancles and broken arms. They fought with a great deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without pulling one another's hair. The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much

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fury, till at length that party which belonged 599 634
to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt 765
began to give way: instantly he rushed from 766
the house in which he was seated, to reanimate 526
his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company 634
dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst 763
Finow retired to a small house, which had been built since his daughter's death, near Böóno (the large house on the *malái*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

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634 powerful claimant*. Apprehensions were also
668 entertained respecting the young chief Voogi, who assisted in strangling the child, for though it was not supposed he would lay claim to the sovereignty, yet being known to be strongly in the interest of Toobo Toa, his conduct required to be strictly watched. These were the chiefs, whose behaviour at this moment the young prince had to notice with a watchful eye. He had considerable confidence, however, in the sincerity of his uncle: Toobo Toa was at the Hapai islands:—Voona and Voogi therefore were the two whose designs he had most immediately to be apprehensive of.

Such was the state of political affairs at the
634 time of Finow's death. As soon as his body
763 was deposited on the bales of *gnatoo*, as before
152 mentioned, one of his daughters, a beautiful
593 girl of about fifteen, who stood by at the time, went almost frantic with excess of sorrow. The expressions of her grief were at first in loud and

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* Finow originally had two brothers, viz. Finow Fiji, and Toobo Nuha, but by different mothers. Finow's lengthened
[553] name was Finow Ooloocalála. The proper family name is Finow, but no member of the royal family is allowed to assume the family name till his appointment to the sovereignty, unless his father choose to give it him as a sort of first name, to which his own proper name is attached, as was the case with Finow's brother, who was called Finow Fiji.

frequent screams, or in broken exclamations: 634
O yaooé! ecoo tammy' é! O yaooé! Alas!—Oh! 763
my father!—alas!—Her sorrow was so great 152
that, at times, she appeared quite bereft of reason; 593
and her truly pathetic expressions of it,
joined to those of the widows, and female attendants
of the late king, all beating their
breasts, and screaming from time to time, rendered
the house truly a house of mourning, beyond
the power of the imagination to picture.
The place was lighted up at night, by lamps [373]
with cocoa-nut oil, (used only on such occasions)
presenting a scene, if possible, still more
affecting than that which happened on the occasion
of Toobó Nuha's death.

In the course of the night, Mr. Mariner went 634
into the house several times, partly out of curiosity 727
indeed, but principally moved by feelings
of regret for the loss of his great and kind patron;—for
though he could not in *every* point
of view admire him as a man,—yet he could not
but esteem him and reverence him as a benefactor:
he had received from him great and
numerous favours: and notwithstanding his
faults, there was a something essential in his
character which commanded respect; and Mr.
Mariner felt that, in losing him, he had sustained
a very great loss. The prince checked [562]
him in these frequent visits to the house; urg- [577]

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in an elevated tone of voice, why they talked 727 about the fear of chiefs; were they not his servants, and had he not a right to act with them as he pleased? He then took in his hand his musket from behind him, when the man who sat next immediately declared, that, if he made any resistance, he would die in opposing him, rather than allow him to escape: upon this, Mr. Mariner summoned up all his strength, and struck him a most violent blow, or rather stab, near the loins, with the muzzle of the piece, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ta gi ho Hotooa,* "*co ho mate e*[*]." This lunge produced a dangerous wound, for the musket, being a very old one, had grown quite sharp at the muzzle, and was, besides, impelled by the uncommon force with which, inspired by the prospect of escape, he felt himself animated: the man immediately fell flat in the bottom of the canoe, senseless, and scarcely with a groan[†]. Mr. Mariner in-

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[*] Meaning, literally, "Strike your Hotooa, there's your 195 "death!" which are forms of energetic expressions, used like oaths, on extraordinary occasions, calculated to express vengeance.

[†] This man, whose name was Teoo Fononga, well de- 593 served the fate he met with: he used to beat his wife un- 266 mercifully, for which Mr. Mariner had frequently knocked 761 him down with a club: he formerly had a wife who, in time of scarcity, he killed and ate: since that time having several children, more than he wished, he killed a couple of them to get them out of the way. His best qualities were being an excellent fisherman, and a very hard-working fellow.

565 have credible records, which is not more than
634 about four, or, at most, five generations, were
643 all relations of Tooitonga. At all events, this
613 is certain, that the present acknowledged fountains
of nobility are Tooitonga, Veachi, and the
king, in the order in which they here stand.
611 In every family nobility descends by the female
565 line; for where the mother is not a noble, the
593 children are not nobles; but supposing the
father and mother to be nearly equal by birth,
the following is the order in which the individuals
of the family are to be ranked, viz. the
father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest
daughter, the second son, the second daughter,
&c., or, if there be no children, the next brother
to the man, then the sister, the second
brother, the second sister, &c. But if the woman
is more noble than the man, then her relations,
in like order, take precedence in rank,
but they do not inherit his property, as will
be seen in another place. All the children of
a female noble are, without exception, nobles.

The Matabooles rank next to the chiefs;
565 they are a sort of honourable attendants upon
chiefs, are their companions, counsellors, and
advisers; they see that the orders and wishes
of their chiefs are duly executed, and may not
improperly be called their ministers, and are
more or less regarded according to the rank of

888 renced on account of their age and experience,
insomuch that it constitutes a branch of their
first moral and religious duty, viz. to reverence
the gods, the chiefs, and aged persons; and
consequently there is hardly any instance in
these islands of old age being wantonly insulted.

Women have considerable respect shewn to
562 them on account of their sex, independent of
the rank they might otherwise hold as nobles.
They are considered to contribute much to the
comforts and domestic happiness of the other
sex, and as they are the weaker of the two, it is
thought unmanly not to shew them attention
and kind regard; they are therefore not subjected to hard labour or any very menial work.
562 Those that are nobles rank like the men according
565 to the superiority of their relationship. If
a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of
562 a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she
565 be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and
593 so are the children male and female; but in
576 domestic matters she submits entirely to his
arrangements; notwithstanding this, however,
she never loses the respect from her husband
due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to
perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he
[784] can feed himself. If the husband and wife are
both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of

moë-moë is dispensed with; but where there is 562
any difference the inferior must perform this 565
ceremony to be freed from the *táboo*. If a 593
woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, [576]
she always derives additional respect on [784]
that account; but a man having a wife who is
a greater noble than himself acquires no additional
respect from this source, but he has the
advantage of her larger property.

It is a custom in the Tonga islands for women 562
to be what they call mothers to children or 597
grown up young persons who are not their own
offspring, for the purpose of providing them or
seeing that they are provided with all the conveniences
of life; and this is often done, although
their own natural mothers be living, and
residing near the spot,—no doubt for the sake
of greater care and attention, or to be afterwards
a substitute for the true parent, in the
event of her premature death; but the original
intention seems not now understood, for it happens
sometimes, that a young man having both
his natural mother and a wife living, will take
it in his head to have an adopted mother, whom
he regards the same as his natural parent. If 562
a woman is the foster mother to a person superior 597
to herself, which is mostly the case, she 554
acquires no additional respect from this source 565
in society, though the adopted person be ever

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people; for it is not only to those who are old, 888
both in years and wisdom, that such respect is 577
paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys
the attentions and services of the younger
branches of society. Great love and respect 577
for parents is another prominent mark of their 593
character; and, indeed, it must be so, as it
arises out of a two-fold motive: i. e. they pay
respect on the score of parentage, and on that
of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also [565]
pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister,
which respect he shews in an odd way,
but it is according to custom, viz. by never entering
into the house where she resides; but
upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr.
Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

The same principle of love and respect for 577
parents and superiors engages every man to secure 428
and defend his hereditary rights as another 769
point of religious duty, and in honour to the
memory of his ancestors, from whom he received
them. By a farther extension of the 186
same sentiment, he loves the island on which he
was born, in particular, and all the Tonga
islands generally, as being one country, and
speaking one language. But the *amor patriæ*, [721]
in the more extended sense, cannot be supposed
to prevail in a very high degree, for, having no [634]
wars with foreigners, the opportunities for the [669]

least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women 831
are very tender, kind mothers, and the children 182
are taken exceeding good care of: for even in
case of a divorce, the children of any age, (requiring 593
parental care), go with the mother, it 586
being considered her province to superintend
their welfare till they grow up; and there is
never any dispute upon this subject. Both 562
sexes appear contented and happy in their relations
to each other. As to domestic quarrels, 593
they are seldom known; but this must be said to [592]
happen rather from the absolute power which
every man holds in his own family: for even if
his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless
of higher authority in all domestic matters, and
no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling
against that authority; and if she should, even
her own relations would not take her part,
unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly
cruel. That the men are also capable [577]
of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner
has witnessed many proofs, some of which have
been related; and we have already mentioned
that filial piety is a most important duty, and
appears to be universally felt. 181

Upon these grounds we would venture to 831

171

South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice
to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing 831
of the kind. 182
171

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.
114 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp. 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised immediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2, chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat. Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults
764 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes
769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *pauu*, mischievous, to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work being never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs
[602] buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's
[599] sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain
[604] references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching
[605] Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement
775 among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the
[538] Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150) relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 775
38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistak-
ably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of
burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that [565
common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a 774]
difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what
point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of
Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly
disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the
pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, 764
only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is
about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the 767]
body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be 602
overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the
fahu nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on 764
natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the 767]
haa tufunga, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. 602
Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to 784
another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. [609]
There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the
haa tufunga take all the mats which have touched the body and are not 767
buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable
modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not
always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about
the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank
from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl
has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own
house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid em-
barrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who [784]
has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself)
and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but
I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, 763
but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, 593
but not to his grandchildren. 603

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or
less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed 763
from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At 562
some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles
water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. 764

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MAMAEAEPOTO TO HIS WIFE

539
593 13

Koe fakahua ka kuo tamele;	A pleasant thing, but 'tis spoilt;[1]
Apianga ka kuo te loto kehe.	Agreement, but my heart is changed.
Ne mou tuia e fakamoveve	Ye have believed the mere nothings[2]
Moe fakamohulau 'ae kehe.	And exaggerations of others.
Na'a ma talanga 'i Fekite-tele	Our converse was in Fekitetele[3]
Keu nofo 'i Houma-fakalele,	That I should stay in Houmafakalele,
Kae 'alu 'o mata fonua kehe.	And she should go and see other lands.
Liu mai kuo taka po me'e,	Returned, she frequents the night dances,
Koe ua 'oe faka-alele.	Which is the like of the turtle-fishing.[4]
Ka 'oku kehenga e lupe ki sia,	Estranged is the pigeon of the mound[5]
Na'e ohi mo mounu fakalele.	That was brought in, a home-keeping pet.
Siota takanga ne tuku ke nofo,	Our dear comradeship was left to abide,
'Osi foki ne tuku 'i Mata-loko	Aye, 'twas left in Mataloko[6]
'O feao moe Vao Longolongo;	Hard by the Cluster of Fern;
Pea ta 'oku 'ikai manofo,	Ah, but it cannot abide,
'Oku toka kehe ho'ona loto,	Her heart lies elsewhere—
Kau mao aipe liuloto.	I shall be ever turning foolishly back.[7]
Ka hamu 'i vao 'i 'ai ha kolo,	Were she seized in the forest and placed in a village[8]—
Kau hoko ai au ki Manono,	I shall go to Manono[9]
'O mamata mei vai Afutoto	And see from the water Afutoto
Pe kohai hake koa ha poto,	Who, perchance, is wise,[10]
Te ne muia e 'otua olo;	He shall be o'ercome by the alluring god;
He na'a mo Vainuka mo Lolo	For e'en Vainuka and Lolo,[11]
Ne 'ikai toka ki ai e loto,	Not for them did love remain true,
Me'a koe api moe fine Tonga,	The fruit of love for Tongan women,
'Oku taka moe fakamaitoa.	Who feel not another's misfortune.
Ka ne ko ha fine Fisi 'oku 'ofa.	Were it a Fijian woman she would love.
Tala ange ki he ngongo moe lofa	Tell to the gull and the tern[12]
Ka nau ka siu 'i Mata-hina,	When they seek fish at Matahina,[13]
Pea ake hake ki Fononga-toa,	Return to land at Fonongatoa,
'O moia ki ai sioku 'ofa—	And my love goes out to them—
Pea kehe koe 'oku haunoa,	And yet thou art content,
Ka 'oku te'eki ngalo ha kuonga.	But there's not a time that is forgotten.
Mao vale e teu ki Feletoa—	Our poor little plan for Feletoa[14]—
Ta kuo hiki ho la 'o hola,	Lo, thou hast raised thy sail and fled,
'O tatali mei 'Aho-kai-moa.	And wait at Ahokaimoa;
'Alua ke hoho ho loto na;	Farewell, let thy heart be content,
'Alua ke hako ho 'atamai;	Farewell, to follow thy will;
He koe faiva fai fe'ofani,	For 'tis a thing of mutual loving,[15]
He koe faiva fai manako,	For 'tis a thing that is done with fondness,
Na'a fakahoa'i pea pango,	Lest there be mating and displeasure,
Na'a fakahoa'i pea tamele.	Lest there be mating and spoiling.

POEM OF TANGATAILOA TO MULIKIHAAMEA

539
584
[643]

The best known Mulikihaamea was Tui Kanokupolu for a few weeks after the murder of Tukuaho in 1799 (37, pp. 158-168). I have put this date at 1800 (12, p. 182). The relatives of this, or another, Mulikihaamea decked a girl with virgin adornments and honors, probably, among other things, by arranging her hair in a special way, either with one lock on the

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539 Page 88. Mamaeaepoto to his wife

593 [837] 1. The wife of Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and there was unfaithful to him. The allusion is to the pleasant relations of husband and wife, which have been broken. In the phrase *kuo te loto kehe* (I have become of a different heart) *te* is the first person of the singular personal pronoun, probably used here in the general sense in which English uses "you," and the meaning is not that he has changed his mind, but, "Agreement, but there has come estrangement."

2. This is addressed perhaps to the public (*mou*, second person, plural), who were giving credence to some rumors about Mamaeaepoto and his wife, or perhaps to his wife and her friends.

3. Fekitetele and Houmafakalele are both in Vavau. Fekitetele may mean much caressing of each other, and, it might refer not only to actual locality indicated, but to the happy love of Mamaeaepoto and his wife.

4. I have left the translation "turtle-fishing" stand, although this use of the word seems to be confined to the small island of Moungaone in Haapai. What aspect of turtle-fishing, or of turtle-fishing as practised in Moungaone, is referred to is not clear, if, indeed, the reference is to turtle-fishing at all. Obviously there is something not of the best for faithful wedded wives.

5. "Pigeon of the mound" is the tamed pigeon, trained for snaring. Similarly "*mounu fakalele*" decoy made to fly, that is, the trained decoy pigeon. There is a well-known proverb, *Mounu vaoa* (decoy pigeon taken to the woods, the home-keeping pigeon gone back to the wild life).

6. Mataloko and Vaolongolongo (Cluster of fern) are evidently places associated with the happy married life of the man and his wife.

7. To turn back without completing the voyage is *liu-loto*. Mamaeaepoto makes up his mind to forget his wife, but turns back from this resolve.

8. This reference is not clear. Possibly the meaning is "if she had been forcibly seized it would not have been so bad, but she has gone of her own free will."

9. Afutoto is a stream, or pool. Besides the island in Samoa, there are numerous occurrences of the name Manono in Tonga. It is not clear what locality and water are referred to; but evidently some place to gain wisdom and insight.

10. "Even a wise man will be the victim of the alluring, blandishing god, love."

11. For Vainuku and Lolo, famous *manaia*, see p. 51.

12. A free translation of the lines is "There is as good fish in the sea as ever came from it." Away with remembrance, my love shall range free as the sea-birds; and yet the *liu-loto*, remembrance, comes back; thou art content, but I can not forget.

13. Matahina, a reef out at sea off Vavau; Fonongatoa, a locality in Vavau.

[103] 14. Feletoa and Ahokaimoa, each occurs as the names of more than one locality. This Feletoa is probably the place in Vavau mentioned by Mariner as the scene of a great battle. The Finau immortalized by Mariner lies buried just outside the village. Ahokaimoa is not far from Feletoa. Apparently the bard and his wife had laid plans which had been upset by the woman's levity; she had left Feletoa and gone to Ahokaimoa to wait there for another lover.

15. "Marriage can be successful and happy only when it is inspired by mutual love." A number of proverbs in this connection indicate how deeply the Tongan imagination is impressed by unhappy endings to what should be permanently happy relations. (See 17, nos. 436, 439, 440, 455.)

539 Pages 88-89. Poem of Tangata-Iloa to Mulikihaamea

584 1. The objects enumerated seem simply to be associated with days and nights of dance and joy. The "floating star" may be either in the heavens, or in the sea Those acquainted with tropical seas will know how splendidly the stars are reflected.

2. There is a poem in which woman is called "manu launoa," chattering bird. Here the poet says that the woman is not always chattering, but at times she acts with reckless venturesomeness. He seems to refer to the girl's willingness to leave Mulikihaamea and to come to him; or perhaps the reference may be general, an appreciation of the courageous side of woman's character.

[192] 3. The word *lave*, poem, recitation, song, is here used of poetry and song and all their associations of dance, joy, and love.

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539 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish
226 and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself
584 to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is
554 being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena
and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once
be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take
825 it to Talanuku.

622 This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was
a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate
our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course
flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony
fish.

539 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing
825 *heli.*

571 The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers.
When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he
makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is
[461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who
when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.

825 The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch.
855 About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is re-
593 puted to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her
602 station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way
down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who
do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the
other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents
who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind
to close relatives.

539 **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.

825 This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divis-
[537] ions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken
up into appropriate headings.

539 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish
825 that will swim (run) towards the tail?

592 The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The
expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

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539 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloaa* but
225 on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloaa* lives.
183

246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummaging for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 **247. Faka-fotu-la:** Appearing by sail.

501 The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 **248. Fakahua kae paea pe:** Tacking but just drifting.

502 A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents [461] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 **249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:**

431 We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 207.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 **250. Fakatou katea:** Both *katea*.

501 The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can [593] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind

539 **251. Foa kau tuu:** Smash, I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the
502 shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

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427. **Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku:** The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. **Fakamui i mama:** At the end in chewing. 539

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow. 855 593

429. **Kai tama:** Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. **Kuo ta ki hono uho:** It was struck to his naval-corn. 539

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it. 852 844 828

431. **Lau tama fai ki he fatu:** Reckoning a child in the womb. 539

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched." 183

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. **Ofa a fine paa:** Love of barren woman. 539

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother. 851 554 828

539 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

844 If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

593 554 851 This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

855 The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

597 This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

597 571 This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

829 **439. Pelepele pea mele:** Petted and coming to grief.

539 593 855 Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

440. **Pele tonoi:** An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. **He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga:** For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. 602 [576]

442. **Talatala i fale:** Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. **Tala loto fale:** Telling inside house.

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak, to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors. 539 521

444. **Apijia tae lava:** Ceremony that does not come off.

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home. 539 584

445. **Apitanga a lalahi:** Camp of grown up people.

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of. 539 571

446. **Fangu malingi i fale lahi:** Calabash poured out in big house. 539

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house. 415 302 575 571

447. **Kaumea kaumea faingamea:** Friends, friends quarreling. 539

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife. 572

further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea 539
was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man 584
worth while from Majilamea.

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, 539
and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), 578
Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan 261
billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?"

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first 584
feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well 593
matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: 539
"To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very 837
old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and 539
cut evilly. 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head 302
was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was 585
highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married.

KINSHIP

602 The structure and functioning of the Tongan kinship 128 system has already been competently described by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 21-29). Just because, however, the functioning of the economic and social systems of village life is shot through and through with rights and duties based upon kinship relationships, it is desirable that some brief account should be given of the way certain kinship relations affect the everyday life of this commoner village. It should be noted that no attempt is made to present here the theoretical kinship structure. Our interest is in what use is made today of the more significant parts of this structure. Further material in this connection will be found in other relevant sections of this report, particularly in the descriptions of the life cycle (pp. 78-106).

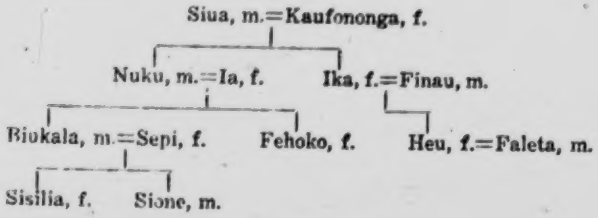
BROTHERS AND SISTERS

593 There is strong brother-sister avoidance in the village. 602 In Tongan thought, this is conceived of as "showing respect" *(fakaapaapa)* for the sibling of the opposite sex. The [601] respect is extended to include all those classificatory kin to whom the terms brother and sister may be applied, for example, cross-cousins. This respect is shown by the following observances: those who are considered brother and sister may not quarrel or gossip with or about each other; they may not sleep in the same house, drink of the same coconut, eat of the same portion of food; they may not wear each other's clothes, although the sister may handle and wash her brother's clothes. Formerly, they might not 178 sit or talk together, only opposite and at some distance from 593 each other. Formerly the sister avoided altogether her 602 brother's house; today she may go to his house for food or come to the house when the brother is sick, provided she sits at a safe distance from the sick man. It is permissible today for the sister to show affection for her brother by "kissing" him when he is going off on a long journey or returning from one, as in the case of the sister who excitedly ran to "kiss" her brother, and as quickly withdrew, when he returned, after a dangerous journey by cutter, from school 593 in Tongatapu. These attitudes begin at about the time when
602

These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age. 593 602 145

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. 607 Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in [784] labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After [844] the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside [846] her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone [553] else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked 593 according to age and descent. Thus in the following 602 genealogy: 607 561 (601)



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may [178] be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

pubic-hair when her child reaches puberty. To drink coconuts 843
opened at the bottom instead of pierced at the top will
give her baby an abnormally large mouth. Commenting
about, or criticising a person who has any physical defect
will result in the child's being born with the same abnormality.
Finally, it is dangerous for her to occupy any one
position for a length of time, such as sitting upright for a
long time or standing bent over her work. If she is not careful
about this, she will suffer from abnormally hard labour.

BIRTH

The birth of a first-born child is a more important 844
occasion than the birth of subsequent children. For the first- [574]
born, the father prepares a big feast when labour begins.
He sends for the wife's mother to announce the event and all
eat together. Both the mother's mother and the father's
mother prepare special pandanus plaited mats and on these
the child is placed immediately after birth. The other
customs surrounding birth are similar for all infants.

Birth takes place within the house. A partition of bark
cloth is hung from the rafters to divide the house into the
family section and the mother's section. Plenty of soft mats
are placed on the floor of the mother's part of the house.
The mother's mother and the father's mother together with [593]
an expert medicine-man attend the mother. She sits on her [606]
mother's lap. The mother massages the back of the [759]
parturient and exerts pressure during labour pains. The
medical expert sits in front of the parturient urging her to
bear down with all her strength as the labour pains increase.
He takes the baby with his hands as it is born, sucks the [759]
baby's nostrils to clear them of mucous, then turns the baby
over on his hand and slaps it vigorously on the back to give
it strength. The baby is placed on a bed of white bark cloth
next to the mother. A wide band of bark cloth is wound
round the mother's waist to give her support, and pressure
is exerted until the afterbirth comes away. Cups of cold
water are given to the mother to drink. The medicine-man
ties the cord with a thread of cotton and places it against
a bark cloth beater if the infant is a girl, before cutting the
cord with a pair of scissors. If the infant is a boy, the cord
is cut resting on a garden hoe. As the cord is snipped, the

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl henceforward
[602] observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

881 Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is supercised.
881 If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is performed
759 by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little
feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoulders
881 of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, become
304 a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
574 431 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity

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881 178 304 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice. Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. [574] On returning to the village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and 881
gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from 304
anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. 178
Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern 152
themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when 574
they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant 431
hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is 832
beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate [584]
or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her 593
nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is 882
likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who 584
shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village 156
instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations 836
are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of
[602] this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs
[574] for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's
[574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and successfully married. According to village pattern, they
833 have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and
[841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom.
526 They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the
[554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal
178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of
593 the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

the family always defers to Tui and consults him in 584
preference to his older brother although the latter is 593
theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to
allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too
young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his
assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his 584
own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was 604
agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission
of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This
permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's
brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed 584
to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been
unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula 585
together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's
father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula
carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and
three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not
to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's
mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother),
Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's
daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife)
to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial
marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about
one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the
type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called
kie. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite.
In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the
four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial
skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out [574)
for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they [276)
arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only [582)
seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give
permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, [435)
Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to
the church where the religious ceremony was performed.
Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. [435)
Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to [494)
Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, [574)
the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

585 [591] the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well [833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall [581] occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 561 178 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with-584 583 178 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

when they are sure that high feeling has died down. The 583
groom's father will often give a small feast when the runaway 593
couple returns to Pangai. The bride's parents are [574]
generally much more angry, probably because they always
feel that a better marriage could have been possible for their 583
daughter. It is not uncommon for the bride's parents to 593
refuse to see either their daughter or her husband for two 606
or more years—and then to relent only when their desire to see their new grandchild becomes overwhelming. Even then, the first overtures to peace always come from the groom. It is hinted to him that the anger of his parents-in-law has abated somewhat. He secures the largest possible pig.
Accompanied by his wife, his child and his pig, he comes [431]
to Pangai and lays the pig down in front of his parents'-in-law house. If the pig is accepted, and it generally is, then reconciliation occurs and the young couple no longer find it inconvenient or uncomfortable to live away from their home village. Sometimes the parents of both bride and groom agree to celebrate the Tongan side of the marriage forthwith. At other times, they all agree to forget the past, thankful enough that at least the young people are married according to church-ritual.

It is hard to judge the attitude of the villagers to these 583
runaway marriages, or elopements, as compared with their 178
attitude to the more formal marriages. Some young people 829
are inclined to shrug their shoulders and say that the Tongan marriage causes fuss and trouble without adding anything to the validity of the marriage-contract. Older people however, and perhaps the more unthinking young still feel that there is an essential rightness about the Tongan customs and that it is not good to break with them even though one can be legally married without observing them. And certainly, if one's family claims any particular status in the village or enjoys some measure of respect, it would be unthinkable on the part of the elders that the younger members of the family should be married without feasting and gift-giving. One would expect considerable change in the future: generally a tendency for the young to take matters into their own hands, knowing that they need have no shame provided their marriage is church blessed; knowing also that in this way they save their families the expense and trouble of feast-preparation and gift-giving.

DEATH

761 For the villager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to
come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying.
784 The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children.
593 This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the
relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763 The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and
[593] by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man
to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever
[602] medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he
may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone.
In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.
764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife
closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in " best " clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this " bed " and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting *(tangi)*. This is generally continued all night long. Just
[593] after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into
the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss *(uma)*. The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

767 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His
554 left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be
264 eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife
252 or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858
DEATH OF CHILDREN

766 An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named,
[845] or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in
[553] the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without
[767] benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for
858 five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's
593 house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's
603 mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

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[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a
[178] commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that
[784] after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [165]
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the [292]
father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt.
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292]
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother.
There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

733
276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden,
[735] the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a
lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who
[461] are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are
conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings
or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava*
before going to sleep.

276 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally
deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated
593 by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks
733 *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush
[776] that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous
and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush
after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in
which to leave a wife and small children without adult male
protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry
because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic
brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband.
Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves
[156] gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely
"queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is
[181] given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the
very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of
[434] the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he
[432] spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household
is poor in every respect.

276 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village
opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have
733 become an addict because of certain personality difficulties
which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for
the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it
for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all
troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain
[293] by noticing the results when some of the more daring young
men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl
and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are
[671] very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white
man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this
happen.)

837 loved Lulu. He was her husband, chosen for her by her friends: moreover, he was an angry man.

Lobase's punishment sat lightly on her. In due course bandmaster Lulu returned and compounded the matter with the jailer; but even this did not seem to soften the heart of his spouse. 593 [142] [302] Less than a week after his return he burst into my office in great excitement to complain that band practice was impossible because his cornet was locked up in his house, and "the woman Lobase" had hidden the key. The conjugal recriminations, when she was called upon for explanations, were bitter and shrill. Poor Lulu! His band in the act of rehearsing the grand march from Tannhäuser was easier to manage than his fair but fickle wife.

Lobase.

181 There is a lack of thoroughness about the Tongans. They pine to live like Europeans, to own implements and horses and saddlery, yet not one of them can bake a loaf

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive 175
many months. The executive power had therefore passed 643
into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo,
but virtually governed the whole island. The power of
the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit
that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming
below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On [782]
the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice
of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of [768]
his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming [593]
the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual [177]
scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the
funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui
Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking.
He is thus described by a contemporary: "He [157]
is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is
of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but
when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring
lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name
as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts
—the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are
told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of
a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his
servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a
woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder
lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true 175
causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served 643
as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. 669
Against a more popular ruler he would not have
dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

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[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.'

[2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the 161
population has been either stationary or decreasing—
slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of
epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases con- [164]
sequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. [165]
In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough [164]
is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The [757]
mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion re-
quired to successfully nurse their children through such ill-
nesses, and content themselves with calling in one native
quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a
succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its
sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In 163
ancient times the women were required to do no work 462
beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating.
The men planted the food, carried in the wood and
water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so [797]
industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in [593]
most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the [178]
same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In
other respects they have greater liberty than under the
heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short 885
at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as 302
an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age 582
could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and
there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares
of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger
than her years had no peace from the sneers of her con-
temporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social 178
code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer 582

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, 755
carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the 757
shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be [783]
left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of
healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and 759
some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not
dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be
effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do 755
not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks 757
and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base [278]
is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun
shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the
middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking
the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone
suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind
give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body [753]
are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the
patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the 758
Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the
sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing
something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his
stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European,
though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing
is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to [844]
have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old [759]
midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, 752
is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the
boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness.
So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer
theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had
herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that 753
is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in 858
593
602

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753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
[302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
[758] to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a 585
girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. [292]
He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat [301]
dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress. Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This
dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, 585
the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the 276
canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is
the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the [262]
largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and
the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other [264]
kava ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented, but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that pro- 585
vided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candlenuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in
their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, [515]
and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

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* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who [593]
has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, [604]
or their children.

585 for their ostensible purpose, and indeed the chances are that they will not be so used, but will be donated to friends with the other gifts. The bride's relatives, moreover, bring mats nominally to serve as a couch for the children that shall be born of the union. These mats, however, are not retained by the happy couple, but are shared out in the general distribution.

Mention has been made of the *veifua*, the special basket of food. As this is borne to the site of the ceremony the most important person on the groom's side approaches and takes the liver and eats it, or gives it to whomsoever he will, or else marks his consequence by
[593] striking the basket or its pig with his hand. This basket falls to the
[604] lot of the *fahu* of the bridegroom, probably to his sister.

[264] When the ceremony is finished, the bride and bridegroom, who have probably nothing of the food provided for the wedding, have a quiet meal together *en famille*, and their domestic life has fairly begun.

One other ceremony remains, that connected with the bride's virginity. The man who has married a maiden awaits a suitable opportunity, and prepares a large basket of food which he presents to her parents. He also gives them the mat bearing the sign of her virginity. With increasing refinement of manners the practice is gaining ground of substituting for this a simple present of a fine mat. Elderly female relatives sometimes sleep with the newly married, and if an old woman interested in the maiden suspects that her credentials are not as sound as they should be she may preserve her reputation by a little pious fraud.

585 The high chief Tukuaho, who died towards the close of the
622 nineteenth century, left a diary in which is an interesting account of the older procedure followed at the marriage of a great chief. In essence the ceremony is identical with the foregoing description of a modern wedding; but the bridegroom is represented as going by night with a large following of his people, and bringing his bride
585 home with loud shouts and exclamations. Amongst the exclamations
622 said to be proper to the occasion is gibberish, untranslatable as either
177 Tongan or Samoan, but which seems to be misrendered Samoan, and to contain references to rites of Samoan marriage which found no place in Tongan ceremony. William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the early part of the nineteenth century, saw a high chief married with Samoan rites, though a portion of the Samoan ceremonial was omitted, and it may well be that Samoan marriage customs came to have a certain vogue in fashionable circles. The diarist speaks of these high society functions being extended over several days, and being graced with various dances.

582 Although marriages, especially of chiefs, are frequently arranged
622 by the elders, yet the youths and girls have considerable freedom in

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the 622
gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming 595
into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband [773]
two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king
Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that
even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the
outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might
regard it.

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women 622
in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the [837]
persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the [421]
king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with 643
which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he [687]
ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared
his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three
years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural
human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism.
Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is 622
no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby 837
deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, [684]
was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being
killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the
chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his 837
wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage,
but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He
forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend.

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by 582
the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. [601]
All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* [602]
to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, [605]
but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse [593]
between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of [565]
cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to
commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen
a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of
society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when 643
the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established 581
custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his 582
successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in
rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua
chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the
Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to
become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the
cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's
daughter.

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276 the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila
574 were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the
643 portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that
565 assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by
264 those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono* has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava* ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono*, *fono* eaters. Some of the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. *(Mokopuna* is the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not
565 all *mokopuna* are *'eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction
554 between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and chiefs is *'eiki*, but there is a third sense of *'eiki*, viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior to him in rank within the family; all the members of the family may be *'eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual may be the *'eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna* are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki* those who are *'eiki*, socially superior, in their families.
[264] Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*.
[858] A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters;
593 they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grand-
603 children are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

604 But although some may simply say that the *kau moko-*
554 *puna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*, others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the
[603] children of both sons and daughters have free access to

BIRTH AND PUBERTY

Before his birth the Tongan is protected by tabus which show the 784
working of sympathetic magic. The expectant mother must not put 843
any sort of girdle or necklace about her neck lest in labor the umbilical
cord become entangled around the child's neck. The coconut for
her to drink must be properly opened. There are two ways of opening 272
a nut, one by piercing the little round eye at the stalk end, and
the other by striking off the bottom of the nut, thus making a hole
usually about two inches across. The pregnant woman must drink 784
only nuts pierced at the top. Should she drink one opened by the 843
other method her child's mouth will gape like the gaping coconut. [272]
She must not cut anything with a knife. Should she neglect this
precaution her child will be marked by some sympathetic deformity,
e.g., the hand may be deformed as though the fingers had been shorn
off. She must not sit in the doorway of a house, lest, as she is
partly within and partly without the house, her child's face reflect
this local ambiguity by being differently formed on the two sides.
The pregnant woman must allow no temptation to induce her to steal,
as the child is sure to bear the mark of theft. Should the mother, [626]
for instance, steal a fowl and prepare it for the oven the child's legs
may be trussed up like the fowl's, and so on of other thefts and their
appropriate stigmata. In 1920 a woman bore a child whose hands
were deformed as though the fingers had been cut off. She was
questioned, and confessed that during her pregnancy she had stolen
and cut up a fowl. These prohibitions for a pregnant woman apply [593]
with especial force against unauthorized meddling with her husband's
possessions, though if she obtain his permission to use anything belonging
to him she may do so without fear.

After confinement both mother and child are smeared with turmeric, 846
and the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five 784
nights, or, as we should say, five days. Bathing was also prohibited
for a fixed period, in this case three nights, after a boy had undergone
the operation of supercision, which is performed at the approach
of puberty. After three nights the boy goes to the sea and bathes,
this bathing having been called in my hearing, though doubtfully, the
tabu bath. At about the same time the long lock of hair left on a [302]

success in love in the case both of boys and girls. The severed cord, 844 as Mr. McKern has informed me, is carefully buried in some recognizable place, e.g., in a mound if there be one conveniently close, or the spot may be marked by planting a tree or shrub.

SOCIAL TABUS

Social life is guarded by tabus which in their most general form 784 forbid an inferior to touch his superior. Dr. Martin remarks (in 565 Mariner's *Tonga*), "Every chief also pays the greatest respect to- 784 wards his eldest sister, which respect he shows in an odd way, viz., 605 by never entering the house where she resides; but upon what exact 593 principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned." [565] This tabu noted by Mariner between brother and sister is not confined to the eldest sister, but is general. "Brother" and "sister" are of course misleading terms if understood with their English connotation. Distant cousins are included, and "collateral relatives" would better translate the Tongan words. But using "brother" and "sister" with the breadth of the corresponding Tongan terms we find that brothers and sisters are tabu to each other. A brother, if he enter a room where his sister is sitting, must keep at a distance from her, and so of the sister coming upon her brother. If a man is sitting talking to other women his sister must not approach the party at all. This tabu upon the intercourse of brothers and sisters 605 is not entirely incompatible with cousin marriage, which may take 582 place with the approval of the relatives on either side whose prerogative it is to secure a match for the couple concerned. When the match has been arranged the hitherto tabued "brother" and "sister" may be brought together and mated. Quite recently a youth and maid, distantly related, set their affections on each other, but when their love, which was very innocent, became known the relatives failed to smile. The girl's real brother in particular professed himself [593] filled with shame, and the unhappy swain carried his embarrassment and stricken heart to another island. Tongan resentment, however, is short, life has resumed its normal course, and the youth has returned, though he appears to have left his unlucky passion in the place of his temporary exile.

must make shift to obtain elsewhere a utensil fitted for their purpose. 565

A strict regard to the tabu surrounding the persons of superiors would introduce almost intolerable inconveniences into the relations of intimate domestic life, but although there is considerable relaxation the tabu of the head and face is observed fairly strictly. A father's head is tabu to his child. There may be Tongan fathers who would pick up their children and let them pull their moustaches or hair as many a white father does, but they can not be numerous. The Tongan father does not nurse and caress his child as freely as the European father does. There are doubtless other considerations operative, of which, by the way, lack of natural affection is not one, but probably the most potent reason is the tabu of the father's person. 576 554 593 576

DEATH

In the treatment of the dead the working of these ideas is clearly seen. The body is prepared for burial by those of family rank superior to that of the deceased, who had been able to approach him freely during his lifetime. Relatives and friends of inferior rank will pay a farewell visit to the deceased shortly after death, but the visit is short, and during it they sit at a respectful distance in that part of the room towards which the feet of the body are pointing. The visitors may indeed kiss the face of their dead friend (probably an innovation since the introduction of Christianity), but after bestowing the kiss they at once retire to a proper distance. There are those who kiss, not the face, but the feet of the deceased. Ordinarily the body is prepared for burial by those whose relations to the deceased enable them to approach him freely, and they suffer no inconvenience from the contact. In the case of high chiefs, however, the last offices are of necessity performed by those of inferior social status, and their hands are thereafter tabu for a certain period, during which the tabued person may not feed himself. It has not often been the fortune of Europeans in these latter days to see a person with tabued hands, but the Rev. C. P. Walkden Brown, late Chairman of the Methodist Mission, who left the group in 1908, was on one occasion present at a Tongan feast in company with a man under this interdict. 764 554 565 784 264

The rites in connection with the burial of great chiefs have fortu- 764

The *kautaha* is described by one informant as a "big society". It is 476
formed for a specific purpose and joined by men interested in achieving
this purpose. One example would make the matter clear. In one village 241
I visited there was a *kautaha* with a membership of about 40 men, 245
comprising the majority of the adult males in the village, which was [462]
formed for the purpose of extending banana plantations. The overall
target was that each member should have 1,000 banana shoots planted
strictly for himself by a certain day in December; and once this overall
aim was agreed upon, they split themselves up into four *tou ngaue* of
9 or 10 members each for the purpose of actually doing the work on
the land. While the *kautaha* as a whole was interested in the progress
of its members towards the target, the actual organisation of work
was left to the various *tou ngaue*: these were the media through which
the members ensured that their own bananas were planted. A lot of
hard work was carried out in clearing the bush and planting the shoots,
and on the appointed day the leading members of the *kautaha* did a
complete tour of the plantations of each member to ensure formally for
the *kautaha* that the bananas had actually been planted. It was an
almost ceremonial affair, ending with the consumption of an elaborate
feast.

The *tou lalaga* is the women's work group formed for the making 476
of *tapa* cloth. The task of joining together pieces of beaten bark into 287
large pieces of *tapa* cloth is a laborious one requiring the labour of [462]
many hands, and for this purpose women would call upon their friends
to come and help. The friends in their turn would call on their own
friends, and in the end 50 or more women may be involved. In this
case the women are fed by the owner of the *tapa* cloth.

7—KINSHIP AND LAND USE

There are two important ways in which fully autonomous households 241
may be connected with one another through use of the land which 592
they work. In the first place, when land is short and a number of 476
families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the
use of the *api* of others or by using the *api* of those who are away from
the village. In the second place, a group of brothers or of a father 241
and his sons, although living in separate households and owning 592
separate *api* at law, may combine together their entire holdings and 593
work them as a single unit. In the village under study there were two 476
clear-cut cases of this sort. In each case the *api* concerned were contiguous,
and clearing, at which the men concerned worked together,
ranged from one *api* into the next. Copra was certainly produced jointly [245]
and the proceeds controlled by the senior member; but I am uncertain
whether food gardens were individually owned.

In both cases, kinship is an important factor in the alignment of 592
households. Of the 19 households that share the use of the *api* of others 241
in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 476
share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 602
5 have no relatives in the village anyway, leaving only 4 which

Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual 764 fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not [612] always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a [593] section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be [593] buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village 795 life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances [796] for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict [512] keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers.

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan 794 Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. [368] The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation. [612]

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow 795 her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates [593] a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.(13) 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

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13. Beaglehole 1941: 128-130.

1C

795 which his father had formerly belonged. He was appointed as *malanga* in 1960 and given the honour to have *fakaafe* (mentioned below).

TABLE 7 — CHURCH AFFILIATION AND *Famili* ORGANISATION

795
612
554

Household No.	Families which belong to him	Church	Honourable position
5	14	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	10	F.W.C.	
	1	F.W.C.	
	34	F.W.C.	
	24	F.W.C. (His half-brother belongs to F.C.T.)	
	33		
	2	R.C. (Husband and his first daughter. But his wife to F.W.C., the third daughter to Mormon.)	
6			
	20		
	22	R.C.	
	12	F.C.T.	*faifekau*
	32	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	31	F.W.C.	*lotu fefui*
28		F.W.C. (his wife's mother to F.C.T.)	
	23		*malanga*
	16	F.W.C. (F.C.T. until 1956)	*malanga*
30		F.W.C.	
	4	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	8	F.W.C.	
11		F.W.C.	
	15	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	13	F.W.C.	*lotu fefui*
7		F.W.C.	
27		R.C.	*stewata*
	3	Mo.	
	9	F.W.C.	*malanga* (*formerly*)
	17		
	18	F.C.T.	*faifekau*
	21	F.C.T.	
	19	F.C.T.	
	26	R.C.	
	35	R.C.	
		F.C.T.	*malanga*
		Mo.	
		Mo.	
		F.C.T.	
		C.T.	

It is now clear that the members of a *famili* organisation are not necessarily members of the same church. On the other hand, members 795 of a nuclear family are loyal to the same church; a bride, even if she has 593 a different affiliation, on her wedding, is ready to conform to her husband in religious affiliation, which may add strength to family unity.

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the 601
father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the 114
true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or
tokoua o'e fa'e is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described
by Gifford[16] and Koch [17] was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata*
must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are com- 601
pletely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's [192]
sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for
a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband
are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation. for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's
brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A
woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford
under the name of *mo'a*,[18] a term which I could not elicit. Gifford 601
thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher 554
rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used
reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.[19] But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own 601
small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is 602
precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network 554
of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children 593

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch 784
the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he 602
does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house [764]
where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the [764]
same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father [601]
who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When [592]
sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and [584]
if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

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16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :29.
19. Gifford 28.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

602 *Grandparents and Grandchildren*

603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[589] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
601 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (*fa'e tangata*) *and nephew and niece* (*ilamutu*) 604

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e* 602
tangata's possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had 422
taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his [601]
fa'e tangata have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata's* wife, from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga's* children, 605
too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. 602
According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play 784
together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* 593
each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may 607
stay in one room together, talking about anything. 602
784

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, 607
combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in 602
company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there 784
were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend [853]
her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour 602

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should 183
observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in 593
Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm 602
has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring 183
his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

578 While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man
605 and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for
602 their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the
601 same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her
brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of
[683] two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B,
and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next
door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

601
602 There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a
605 real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the
593 brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classi-
[789] ficatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins
joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real
604 sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege
602 towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real
601 mother's brother.

128 Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

593 It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the
592 same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only
[342] two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are
the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age
513 of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep.
592 Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten
593 years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the
place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main *fale mohe* with sisters	3 households
(b) in another *fale mohe*	5 households
(c) in *fale kai*	1 household
(d) some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters	1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

14

may be as old as thirteen but no girl over thirteen years of age lives with 592
either an older or younger brother. It is probable that boys are told to 593
sleep in a separate place when the sisters reach the age of puberty. [513]

The commonest way to separate boys from girls is to build another hut [342]
for the boys in the same *api kolo,* or to make the *fale kai* (dining hut) [343]
available to the boys. Occasionally the father moves and accompanies the sons (two cases) or the daughters (one case). The case of a complete separation is given by 9 who has accompanied four sons to eldest and married son's household in order to part them from their younger sister. These boys also take a meal and work with the brother's family. They seem to be allowed to live with their brother's wife in one room because she is not their sister-in-law but their *mali.*

The Name Giver[29]

The following table shows the name givers for 96 persons of 17 households in the village. 553
602

Name giver	First child	Second	Third and subsequent	Total
fa.	3	1	15	19
fa's fa.	1			1
fa's mo.	2		2	4
fa's bro.	1	1	5	7
fa's sis.	4	6	11	21
fa's fa's mo.	1	1	1	3
fa's mo's mo.			1	1
fa's fa's bro's gr. child			1	1
fa's fa's sis.	1			1
fa's fa's sis's da.	1			1
fa's mo's bro's da.	1			1
fa's mo's sis.			1	1
fa's mo's sis's so.		1	1	2
fa's sis's child			1	1
fa's sis's son's wife			1	1
fa's bro's wife			1	1
fa's relative		1	3	4
mo.		1	5	6
mo's mo.			3	3
mo's bro.			2	2
mo's bro's wife			1	1
mo's sis.			2	2
mo's mo's sis.			1	1
mo's mo's mo's bro.			1	1
mo's relative		1		1
not related	2		2	4
unknown			5	5
Total	17	13	66	96

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[29] A person's name may change sometimes two or three times in his life. But the name given on his birth is only one for each person.

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings(21) and funerals. I will describe these cere- 554
monial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585
764

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 128
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* [276]
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy [574]
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is [276]
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink.
The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the [574]
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, [252]
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu, kei* (both, a kind of mat) [292]
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths [352]
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his [292]
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 585
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 276
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,(22) then by the groom. 574
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, [262]
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

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21. Collocott 1928: 221-4., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including [603]
one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala* [431]
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub 764
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu,* for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u.*
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu,* [794]
that is *ilamutu,* of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [792]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, 764
one of the *liongi* prepares *kava,* and men drink until next morning. 276
The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule.*

15

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u,* and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima,* named *kumifonua.* Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua,* is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.(24) For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant. [274] [574] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule.* Sometimes *pulua* is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 [302] Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.(25) The family and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten [789] [593] [602] [292] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted, and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village.

VIII — SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON RAMIFICATION AND STRATIFICATION

121 In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information. 114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 114 565 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to *ha'a.* I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga,* undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 84.

554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between
two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of
hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate
all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the
highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's
sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave
towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But
what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they
may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's
sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the
highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the
elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons
it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single
ramified system.

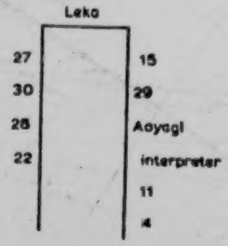
554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the
brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles
may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank;
this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if
a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor,
his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's
sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 576 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554

FIG. 6 Seat-ordering at a *fakaafe*



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 56
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour [796]
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]

31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.

32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

592 621 [171] did emerge from examination of the material relating to attached individuals was that it was the larger households that tended to have the added membership of attached individuals. However, even this point seemed at variance with what might have been expected on the basis of comparative data from other societies, which show households lacking in members compensating by the addition of attached individuals (Goody 1972: 17-18).

592 128 596 In attempting to account for the extent of diversity revealed by enumeration of Motulahi households according to the culturally significant notion of family groups, I tried to analyze the data in terms of other variables. One basis for analysis was suggested by the stated norms of intra-family behavior and other patterns of respect in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance, the authority of the senior male vis-a-vis junior males, and the reverence due the father's sister. However, the observed composition of multiple-family-group households did not accord with the pattern one might expect on the basis of these norms (see Table 13).[4] While the plurality of households with family groups related through the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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[602] [593] [4] A listing of the stated norms of intra-family behavior is given in most pieces of writing on kinship in Tonga. However, as Morton shows in his dissertation (1972), there is little or no correlation between these norms and actual patterns of relationships among Tongan villagers.

612 tially a localized group, most of whose members live in the
621 same village. Like the household unit, the fāmili is a
[602] group that includes affines. And finally, in contrast to the ascriptive nature of the kainga relationship, fāmili membership is one of the most important areas of optation in Tongan society.

Fāmili Membership

The fāmili has some structural features that make it look like a non-unilinear descent group and others that make it look like what Davenport (1959) calls a 'stem kindred'. However, the fāmili could also be described simply as a loose association of households linked by
[593] consanguineal ties among some of its members. The core
[605] or 'stem' of the membership of any one fāmili consists of a number of adult individuals in the village, both male and female, who are related to one another as siblings or as the descendents of siblings. The total membership of a fāmili includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than just transient members of their households. But it must be understood that the criteria of membership in the fāmili are not at all rigid. A person could be affiliated with any fāmili to which he or she is able to claim a kin tie, even if the genealogical connection

575 account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met
454 for a social evening once a month. On these occasions,
each couple brought the amount of money that had been
agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total
was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure
regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact
by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

575 2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents
621 of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties
602 of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation.
794
[593] Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga
described above were related to one another as siblings;
all were adherents of the same denomination (although not
of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples
[437] were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the
[476] Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the
members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in
the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congregation.
[437] The denominational affiliations and kinship
connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are
depicted in Figure 10.

575 3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct
personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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[13] Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 fāmili to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth.
Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of
a fāmili lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is
that it is not common for fāmili membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423 425 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages
rather than in the same village. If they were living in
neighboring villages rather than the same village this
suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements
in their relationship, in which case they probably would
not belong to the same fāmili even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571 [589] some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
between men and women of neighboring villages; one either
courts in one's home village, where people are known to
one another and where there are sanctions for proper
behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home,
in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593 592 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband

621 is a member of a sibling descent group based in the village
593 next door. And even where this does happen, it is unlikely
612 that the household would participate as members of a fāmili
592 in a neighboring village if there were also a fāmili in the
village of residence with which the household could be
affiliated. It is only when for some reason there is no
suitable fāmili in the village of residence that a household
might participate regularly in a fāmili that is based
621 in another village. Similar factors operate against the
575 likelihood of a person's being a member of a kautaha based
621 away from that member's village of residence. People
571 prefer to be associated with others of their own village
for reasons of convenience and prudence: so that they can
interact freely with their associates and easily monitor
[612] their activities. In summary, the fāmili is a village-based
group because it is basically a local action-group.

Like the kautaha and the fāmili, the congregation
621 794 is more correctly described as a local group rather than
a village group. In most villages on Tongatapu, the Free
Wesleyan Church is the only denomination whose congregation
could be said to be village-based in the sense that all
the members of the congregation are village residents, and
this is also true in Motulahi. The reason is because the
Free Wesleyan Church has a far greater number of adherents
than other denominations. Owing to their numbers, members

161 Kingdom's total population, had 58.9% of the total households with two
family units and 63.2% of the households with three or more family units.
162 The Report does not distinguish whether households with several
592 families have come about as a result of grandparents, son and wife, and
grandchildren living in the same household, or as a result of brothers and
their wives sharing one household. It is also unclear how the local census
officers demarcated dwelling units clustered together and cooperating as
the one single household. In many parts of Tonga, there is a precedent in
custom for three or even four generations of the same kin-group to live
within the same *'api*, the family unit of the oldest son occupying the main
dwelling with other units (parents and unmarried siblings; families of
[593] married siblings) having separate dwellings around. Because of the
traditional brother-sister *tapu* there may be an additional hut for unmarried sons. There is less precedent in Tongan custom for two or more family units of the same generation (e.g. siblings, their spouses and children) to live within the one dwelling: this could be a criterion of overcrowding.

It seems from the census figure of 16% ("households" with more than
one family unit) that overcrowding is not yet severe in Tonga except in
[362] Nuku'alofa. Here families of siblings are sharing dwellings, and huts are
being built on swamp land. Elsewhere, the occurrence of households containing more than one family unit may be accounted for as the persistence of the traditional co-resident extended family, comprising several generations where each "extra" family unit may have its own separate dwelling house which may or may not have been recorded in the census schedule as a household. The increase in average household size has been accompanied by a fall in average overall acreage of land per household from 15.08 acres per household in 1956, to 10.98 acres in 1966.

* * *

The population densities already discussed have little meaning except
121 in relation to the availability and utilization of natural, agricultural and
13 human resources. The natural resources of Tonga comprise almost
311 exclusively the soils, reefs and surrounding seas with, in late 1968, an
elusive possibility of oil; the agricultural resources comprise almost
entirely trees—particularly coconut, banana, breadfruit—and ground
crops grown mainly without mechanical aids by slash-and-burn methods.
128 Human resources are discussed at the end of this paper.

Dependence on agricultural produce is enormous; in 1961 and 1964
433 these products amounted to 98.19% and 96.39% respectively of Tonga's
[939] total export earnings with copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) forming
the basis of the economy and constituting over 80% of the visible exports
[241] throughout the 1960s.[6] Agricultural products are the surpluses and
small cash-crops of Tonga's 12,000 or so peasant farmers who are scat-
[463] tered throughout the Kingdom and rent their allotments either from titled
[927] nobles or directly from the Government.

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[6] TONGA, 1960-1967 *passim*. Total exports for 1961 amounted to £T1,374,658; agricultural exports £T1,349,461; non-agricultural exports £T25,197.

612 as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with
166 their families.

Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave
621 when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as
teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in
166 Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai
in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or
undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential
spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as government clerks, police, teachers, and *faifekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing
and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan
community in New Zealand); or just for *'eva pē,* i.e., living among
kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of
the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not per-
[434] manent, periods of absence from native villages. The increased need
for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money
[612] locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and
services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure
which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates,
both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan
social structure.

602 The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from
the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined
554 briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed
to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships
in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately
defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asym-
metrical analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations
[593] are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers
have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily
[604] rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights
over mother's kinsmen(especially the mother's brothers and their
children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's
sisters and their children).

In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has
[565] obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class
system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn
have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals
holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower
571 status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of *'ofa,* 'love'
577

621 of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic co-
602 operation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and
612 usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in pro-
ductive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of
554 traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form
476 of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an im-
612 portant determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common
602 economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or
423 more *'api tukuhau* will be held or controlled by males in a particular
593 sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest,
will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land
593 which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look
for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in
464 the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find.
554 Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either
[602] in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have
salaried jobs.

The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire
602 from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed
612 *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

602 Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific
612 family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship
554 factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,

612 1968, pp. 542-556). The transitions occur between these structural states
602 as interactions among individuals in a network increase and become
norm-governed. This process appears to occur in the formation of Tongan family estates.

In addition, the transitions from quasi-groups, or clusters in networks,
612 to groups is marked by the development of a covert or informal
602 authority structure among a set of individuals. The informal leaders
554 of a quasi-group or group are brokers and managers of the group's interactions. Covert authority structures are clearly a part of Tongan family estates. Usually, a particular kinsman, male or female, will become a leader or at least the person with the most influence in the family estate either because of the strength of his particular economic position or because he is in a position to serve as an intermediary in facilitating the needs of one kinsman being met by the resources of another. It is not easy to predict who will be the manager of a family estate, because it depends on a highly variable combination of kinship
612 and economic factors. One might assume that among brothers, the
602 eldest will be the broker in a family estate, but it is often not the case. I recorded data for one family estate in which the youngest brother
593 of a sibling set, having a high-paying clerical position abroad, mediated
554 transactions and was constantly being asked for assistance both because of his position in the organization of rank (his obligations to sisters and older brothers) and because of his relative economic power.

612 Given the hierarchically ordered channels of economic flow defined
above, the development of routinized interactions among a set of kins-
602 men and of informal positions of authority justifies the construction of a model with corporate features which isolates distinct, but ephemeral units from ego-focussed Tongan *kāinga*. With respect to extra-familial or extra-sibling group kinsmen, specific individuals in the categories of mother's brother and mother's brother's children and of father's sister and father's sister's children will be incorporated in the family estate through time to the exclusion of other individuals in these categories as a result of the pattern of actual economic transactions. From the perspective of the sibling group, brothers and sisters will come to demand goods and services from particular individuals as mother's brothers and will recognize *effective* (material as opposed to merely ritual) obligations toward particular individuals as father's sisters. The rest of the individuals in any of these categories will form a part of the general *kāinga* category of a set of siblings, but will be excluded from the family estate.

612 often result in conflicts and accusations over the fulfillment of one's
557 duties (in terms of either rights or obligations) as a kinsman.

829 Objectively, there are limits to individual manipulation, since one
[578 'who has made it' in a modern sector may not want to alienate his
siblings by defining them out of the category covering effective economic
transaction (the *famili* or family estate), and will thus settle on a less
extreme strategy whereby he will fulfill obligations for his higher
ranking kinsmen, but will also try to minimize the financially burdensome
consequences of these obligations without alienating his siblings.
612 The potential and real conflicts between individual and collective interests
considerably complicate any attempt to provide a neat analytical
model of the family estate. It should be noted, however, that although
I found evidence of such conflicts, I found in general a remarkable
congruity in the operation of the family estates for which I could gather
data. Perhaps the degree of support provided by kinsmen in modern
sectors to kinsmen in traditional sectors seems generous and significant
to recipient villagers (as in the case of the provision of materials for
building a European-style house), but not too burdensome to their
donor kinsmen in a modern sector within Tonga or abroad.

593 A final important index of individual strategies within family estates
is the treatment of sisters by brothers. In any sibling group, sisters have
554 higher prestige status than brothers. In terms of material support, the
obligations of brothers to sisters may have an important influence on
the individual social and economic development of brothers, especially
[589] with regard to decisions about marriage. I noted cases of several men
who never married or married quite late (after the age of 35). Explanations
for this phenomenon often contained a quite explicit recognition
that as a brother, one is obligated to actively support his sisters and
[581] their children indefinitely. Of course, not all brothers were quite so
selfless since marriage is certainly the statistical norm in Tongan society.
Some married brothers continued to actively support their sisters, married
and unmarried; others responded only to requests from sisters for
support; while still others claimed that their active material obligations
of support to their sisters effectively ceased when their sisters married —
then support, except on special occasions, became the responsibility of
the husbands. The preceding discussions reveal that although channels
of support are well defined by the organization of rank in the family
estate, there is still much room for individual manipulation based upon
the subtle ways that traditional rights and obligations can be interpreted
and perceived in practice.

264 each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are [565] not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

128 *Amusements* Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is 595 [565] *Polygamy* allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the 837 Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, 836 which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

164 *Diseases* This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

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[643] [1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. [644] There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[593] [2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'habo exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls [524] diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokonofo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

548 scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a
very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article
836 of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood
that this is without exception universal, as there are many
837 women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or
absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable
on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be
married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst
them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society.
The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by
jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon,
that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst
583 the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various
lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will
soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would
wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please
will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such
cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive
[163] from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity
[549] seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age
their affection for their children and care in providing for them
excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and
soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before
855 that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain
888 instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some
weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to
be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise
their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor
765 can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing
their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering
[764] it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing
however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their
humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of
765 the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in
words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars
304 mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks
tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust
spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits,
and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

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[1] But cf. p. 96*a* below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

[1777]

had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their [304]
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [18 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was 644
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 604
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 565
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the [609]
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [576]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [264]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect & deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them & give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was, we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also. 177 644 604 565

ties, can be subdivided: status among kinsmen (*kāinga* ranking) incorporates 554
principles of age, sex, and whether the individual is related through 612
the mother or the father; however, in *kāinga* inheritance, the significant
dimension is male primogeniture within the patrilineal group. Societal 554
ranking includes two kinds of rank: chiefs are differentiated from commoners, 565
and entire societal groupings (*ha'a*) are ranked in regard to each
other. *Ha'a* cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one 613
might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, *ha'a* are
societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually 554
separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction 612
between them). One individual may rank higher than another in 613
societal rank and lower in *kāinga* rank; or two individuals may be related
in two different ways, and they may alternately outrank each other, depending
on which relationship is being activated. Conflict is usually
avoided in such cases because the activity taking place generally prescribes
which kind of ranking shall receive priority. A social occasion within the
kin group activates different principles than does a village affair, or one
that involves the whole society.

The first major strand to be dealt with will be *kāinga*, on which social 128
status and inheritance among kinsmen depends. Second, class ranking will
be dealt with, that is, the ranking of the roles of chiefs and commoners.
Finally *ha'a* rank, that is, the ranking of groups associated with a title that
originated by collateral segmentation, will be described. Throughout, the 128
concepts of *'eiki* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (common) are used; that is, within
each strand some individuals or groups are considered to be higher than 554
others. Though the strands are separated for easier explication, the relationships
between them are implicit. These relationships are sometimes
contradictory, but because of this are useful in reinforcing chiefly position,
especially at the highest societal levels.

KĀINGA RANKING

All relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship are called 612
kāinga (kinsmen). One has many *kāinga*, a number of whom may act
as a group on various occasions, and perhaps it is best to consider *kāinga*
as consanguineal relationship. *Kāinga* is not the same as a Samoan *ainga*. [171]
The Tongan language has no indigenous word for family, the word
fāmili having been adopted from English to refer either to the nuclear 593
family or to the bilocal extended family, but it seems that no such word 192
was used during pre-European times.[8] 596

Kinship Categories Used for Reference Among Kāinga 601

Kui: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

Mehikitanga: all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father, e.g., FaSi, FaFa, SiDa.

Tamai: father and all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father.

601 602 Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows:

612 554 *Avoidance*—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofefine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*).

Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).

Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga*.

Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofefine* and *foha*.

Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'ē* to *tama*.

Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'ē tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).

No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna*.

602 612 554 These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;[5] and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.[6]

612 602 604 554 [593] The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. 612 602 605 601 One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does.

612 554 602 These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions.

612 554 764 602 Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.[7] Those of his father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),[8] his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family

groups bring gifts of mats, tapa, and food, and present them first to the 612
head of one of the three groups, depending on how they are related to the 554
deceased. The gifts are recorded and taken to the house where the dead 764
man lies on a pile of mats and tapa. At his head are one or more persons 602
who are *fahu* ("above the law") to him, i.e., his father's sister, his sister's children, or others of the same kinship categories. The family group bearing the gift presents it to the *fahu,* and each kisses the dead man. After this, the way in which one is related to the deceased determines his course of action. Those whose status is higher than the dead man, i.e., related through the dead man's father, can either stay in the house near the corpse or join the kava ring outside.[9] Those whose status is lower than the dead man, i.e., who are related through the latter's mother, go immediately outside. Here the males prepare the earth oven, the food from which will be distributed after the burial. The females prepare tea and bread, which is eaten before the actual burial, and plait coconut-leaf baskets. The baskets are filled with food from the oven, and one is given to each person who attends. Those who have come to the funeral because they are kinsmen of the dead man's wife, and who are not related to the deceased, may follow either course of action. The deceased's children help with the cooking and do not enter the house until it is almost time for the burial. At this time they kiss the corpse and immediately leave the house. Nonkinsmen who attend can stay in the house, join the kava circles, or help with the cooking and basket plaiting, their choice usually depending on what their friends are doing.

Among the *kāinga* everyone knows his position with regard to everyone 612
else present. The kin term itself reflects the appropriate roles required by 554
the principles of status. These principles predetermine each person's course 602
of action in any family social activity, regardless of other statuses he may
hold in the society. Even the highest noble in the land must prepare the [764]
earth oven at the funeral of his father's sister, while a commoner of no material wealth may sit and drink kava if he is a descendant of the deceased woman.

Inheritance among the *kāinga* uses some of the same principles, but 612
with quite different results. First, although women have higher status than 554
men in most social relatinships, they do not inherit. Second, inheritance 428
is reckoned patrilineally; material wealth, mainly in the form of land, passes from father to son. Third, by the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son inherits. Thus in inheritance the relative age of siblings is of considerable importance in contrast to the small importance it assumes in other
social relationships.[10] The eldest son inherits, becomes the head of the 612
family, and is expected to look after his brothers. His sisters are presumably 554
supported by their husbands, although a man looks after his sisters until 428
they are married and gives first fruits and other gifts to them throughout 593
his lifetime.

A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers. In 612
this case he is said not to inherit from his mother, but from his mother's 554
father, so that the patrilineal emphasis is maintained by skipping his 428

554 is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. All interpersonal
[571] relationships are governed by the principles of rank. The arrangements
[595] of dancers in relation to each other and to the audience
reflects these principles.

554 The most important principle on which rank is based is a societal
565 division which differentiates chiefs from commoners. This is further
[643] refined in two ways: First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart
and he is known as Tu'i. Second, an intermediate class between chiefs
and commoners is matāpule, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs.

554 The second and third principles of rank are derived from the
593 ranking of siblings within the family. The most important of these is
that sisters outrank brothers. It is only after sex of siblings is
taken into account that elder outranks younger. Thus a girl of 12
554 years of age will outrank her brother of 20 years of age. The extension
604 of these principles into the extended family results in sister's
[605] children outranking brother's children. Thus father's sister is the
highest ranking person to ego and mother's brother is lowest in
relation to ego. Ego can take what he likes from his mother's brother,
and must give everything he has to his father's sister.

565 The family ranking system has societal implications, for even the
554 highest chief will be outranked by his sister and his sister's
593 605 children will outrank his own. This dilemma at the top of the social
system was solved in two ways. One of the ancient traditional ways
644 554 was that a Tu'i's sister's child (usually the oldest daughter) had a

565 535 541 individual performers visually displays the social organization of the village.

Lakalaka is the present day formal dance type (see Chapter VII)[A] 535 565 554 621 and is performed by 'all' the men and women of a village. They are ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left (from the spectator's point of view) the men on the right. The center positions for both men and women are the highest positions in the dance. These positions are called *vāhenga* and are held by the highest ranking individuals in the village. The female *vāhenga* is usually the noble's eldest daughter. The male *vāhenga* may be the eldest son of a ● [593] collateral line. Because the sister outranks her brother and because of the principle of brother-sister avoidance, brother and sister cannot stand next to each other (although in some cases it is said that the principle of high rank takes precedence and brother and sister do stand next to each other). Next to each *vāhenga* position is a position called *ta'ofi vāhenga*, which literally means to 'separate the *vāhenga*.' *Ta'ofi vāhenga* positions are usually filled by individuals of *matāpule* blood. Perhaps a *matāpule* himself will stand next to the male *vāhenga*, and the eldest daughter of the *matāpule* will stand next to the female *vāhenga*. In most villages the position next to the *ta'ofi vāhenga* is the place of *mālie taha*, 'the best dancer.' Sometimes, however, the *ta'ofi vāhenga* is also the best dancer, and then the third position is not distinguished from the rest. Or in some villages where there are several chiefly lines, the noble's daughter will take the first position,

[A] [See category 116, pp. 241, ff.--Analyst]

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of
these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this
again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within
the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval
floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans
are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment.
[593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the
[343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating,
cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in
[171] keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active
involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less
[264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are
more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three
meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in
the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan
handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir
house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close
resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and
therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in
[433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy
itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities.
The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from
single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the
European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the
hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of
primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation
441 which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means
"like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round
of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles
they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

13. Employment figures alone are an insufficient criterion for determining "urban" and "rural" in the Pacific. This is demonstrated by comparing selected employments from "urban" Nuku'alofa with similar employments from "rural" Arorangi described by Bassett in the present volume. 464 369 171

	Nuku'alofa 1956 (males 20-59)	Arorangi 1961 (males over 15 years)
Agriculture, Planting and Fishing	46.3	52
Industrial	6.3	6
Trade & Communications	5.2	5
Commerce & Finance	5.6	6
Public Administration & Professions	9.7	8

14. Spillius, 1959(B). 113

15. Gifford, E.W., 1929, "Tongan Society", Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Bulletin, 61: 171, refers to a description of Tonga as "a fully feudal society (in which the) head of the clan has become a landlord".

16. For an historical account see Rutherford, N., 1966, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.

17. For an elaboration of the effects of this parallelism or "dual framework of society", see Walsh, A.C., 1968, "Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga", Proc. 5th N.Z. Geog. Conference, 119-124. Note, however, that this paper uses the term "peasant" more loosely than the present paper.

18. Franklin, S.H., 1965, "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation", Pac. View., 6: 145-166.

19. Maude, 1965, p.50, writes "the traditional groupings or extended family in which married sons stayed in the households of their fathers is no longer the usual form". The modern nuclear family, however, still retains intimate contact with at least 50 relations according to Spillius, 1959(B), and urban families probably have more contacts than those in the villages. Nayacakalau, R.R., 1963, "The Urban Fijian in Suva". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 135, and Bellam, 1964, 142, noted similar findings in urban Suva and Honiara. 592 593 595 [369] [113] [171]

20. Franklin, 1965, 157, in defining the peasantry asks "What is their labour commitment, their institutional basis, their control and direction and their form of ownership...?" 000

114 612 613 Kaeppler is non-commital in discussing the nature of the relationship between the personal kindred and the lineage system. In the quote above she says the two "...can be conceptually distinguished..." and adds the cautious statement that "...there is a great deal of interaction between them." One of Kaeppler's own comments suggests that the distinction between the two is more real than conceptual.

> [428] [593] [604] Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions (1971: 177).

This statement comes closer to the position which states that an individual's position in the lineage system has very little to do with his relationship to his kindred.

121 128 The discussion above serves to illustrate that Tongan kinship performs several functions and one cannot hope to describe kinship by focusing on one function. Below I will present a description of Tongan kinship based on the data I collected and analyzed with the thought in mind that different kinship functions may be fulfilled by different ideologies and structures.

Kainga: A Personal Kindred

612 The Kāinga is a true bilateral kindred inclusive of all consanguines to whom ego can trace a relationship either through his mother or his father. Kāinga does not include affines. Kāinga is not a corporate group, but a body of kinsmen may be recruited from it to act corporately for specific occasions, e.g., weddings, funerals, and

593 Under this system only constituents of the category tokoua 'sib-
561 lings of ego's sex' can either be of higher rank of lower rank than ego
554 by virtue of seniority. In this case there is a terminological distinc-
[601] tion with older siblings of the same sex referred to as ta'okete and younger siblings of the same sex referred to as tehina. Kaeppler (1971: 176) suggests that age ranking is not very important, but it seems quite important within the sibling group for establishing order of dominance and subordination, for determining leadership on formal occasions and, of course, for determining inheritance. Figure 2 illustrates kin ranking.[A]

'Api: A Household

592 The term 'api is best translated as 'household' but it can also denote a plot of land for residence or gardening, or it can be used to refer to persons living together in a household. The Tongan household is the primary unit of production and normally functions as the largest unit for resource management.

592 Each household is situated on a compound covering 1 rood, 24 perch-
351 es of village land.[2] Each structure on a compound is referred to accord-
342 343 ing to its function; households usually consist of a sleeping house (fale mohe), a cookhouse (fale kai or peito), a roofless bathing stall (fale
342 kaukau), and a covered toilet (fale malolo). Sleeping houses vary in
[178] design from traditional thatch houses to brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In houses of the more traditional design partitions are absent except for tapa cloth (ngatu) curtains separating the sleeping

[A]. [See p. 45--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

593 Wives have lesser rank than their husbands, but this is a ranking within
562 the nuclear family not bearing on *kāinga* ranking. Daughters are next
[594] [612] highest in rank and are usually given preferential treatment. If a
family has meat at a meal, daughters are allowed to choose their portion
before sons, and the latter may have to go without. Girls are given
comfortable beds but boys are allowed to sleep where they can find a
place, which is often outside the sleeping house because of social restrictions between brothers and sisters. Girls are generally clothed
more fully and with better garments than boys. Daughters are kept under
[834] a watchful eye and made to stay near the family *'api*, particularly at
night when they are only allowed out in the company of a chaperone.

Girls are socially superior to their brothers and ideally brothers are obligated to be guardians of their sisters' social and physical well-being. Men should give first fruits to sisters and assist sisters and their husbands in gardening, building, or other tasks.

Parents sometimes treat one child as a favorite (*pele*) and give
that child better food and care than is proffered to others. Usually
this child is the youngest or oldest of a sibling group and is usually
[597] a female. Sometimes an adopted child will become a favorite as it is
felt that special attention should be given adopted children. If a
male child is chosen as the *pele*, he is often treated as a female; he
is kept close to the *'api*, taught feminine tasks, and even in some cases
[522] is dressed and groomed as a female. Tongans consider this sort of role
reversal very comical and persons outside the household willingly treat
the child as required by the role alteration. I never heard of anyone

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[603] attempting to reverse the sex role of a girl; only small boys are treated in this manner. Mothers and grandmothers are likely the persons who initiate a reversal in sex roles.

Matakali: A Residence Group

591 The residence pattern of Tongan villagers is such that after marriage a man usually remains in the village of his father, and a women moves to her husband's village if she resided elsewhere before marriage. Virilocality is the preferred form and the dominant form of post-marital residence. However, exceptions to this pattern are quite common, primarily because of economic factors. Considerations such as land availability, opportunities for wage labor, and access to health care and educational services frequently override the preference for virilocal residence. A sample of all married persons in Puke revealed that twenty-four couples were residing virilocally, seven uxorilocally, and twelve were following a neolocal pattern. This residence pattern helps account
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613 for the "loose" membership characteristics of the Tongan residence group, *matakali*.

Gifford (1929: 38-39) briefly discusses *matakali* and suggests that the term was borrowed from Fiji where the cognate form is *matanggali*. Although Gifford has little information his data do suggest that residence is important in defining *matakali*. *Matakali* in Puke are defined
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613 by residence and consanguinity. *Matakali* group households of the village under an *'ulumotu'a* 'headman'. In each constituent household either the household head, or the spouse of the household head, is a

Summary

128 In this chapter I did not attempt a full description of Tongan social organization as a large amount of material on that topic is already available. I did attempt to outline those aspects of Tongan kinship that have implication for the study of kinship reciprocity. The exact relationship between kinship and exchange will be presented as the conscious model of kinship reciprocity in Chapter VI.

612 The important points presented in this chapter are that each indi-
vidual possesses a personal kindred, kāinga, with each individual in
the kindred ranked relative to ego. This relative ranking is the basis
592 of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also, each individual
593 is a member of a household within which relationships are characterized
by a strong definition of the rights and duties of each household mem-
613 ber. Some households are grouped together in larger residential units,
[592] matakali. Matakli are based on a membership with consanguineal links
[591] to a headman; these links are usually agnatic but not necessarily so.
The corporate character of this group is weak, and headmen have little
power with which to coerce their matakali members.

565 Most commoners are not members of the named rammages or lineages
613 (ha'a) and consequently have little interest in or knowledge of ha'a.
Ha'a are the institutions through which titles and estates are claimed
and only function in regard to those factors. Commoners are, however,
affiliated with a certain noble by virtue of their residence on his
[591] estate. The relationship between noble and villager is better char-
acterized as that of "landlord-tenant" than one of kinship.

597 124 to provide information on the adoption of any of their children, the adoption of any of their siblings, and the adoption of any of their [125] spouse's siblings. In this way a sample of eighty-one adoptions was obtained. It is this sample that provides the statistical data presented in this chapter.

855 In contrast to Western practices of child rearing, the rights and duties of jural parenthood are dispersed and extended to a large number of kinsmen, neighbors, and friends. For instance, a child is seldom called home at mealtime if he is working or playing elsewhere; parents assume that he will be fed wherever he happens to be within the village. It is also expected tha neighbors will generally look after a child 593 855 whenever he is near their home. Parents frequently leave children of five or older at home while they go to their garden or perform some other task and assume their children will be looked after without any explicit arrangements having been made. Reciprocally, the persons assuming the duties of parenthood claim some of the rights of parents. For instance, adults can expect neighbors' children to run errands and execute minor tasks for them, and they may use corporal punishment to insure that orders are obeyed.

855 When explicit arrangements are made for an adult to care for another's child, the term tokanga'i is used to describe the arrangement. This type of transfer of parental role is only for short periods of time, from a few hours to a few days, and is nearly identical to the Western practice of babysitting.

553 A partial, but permanent, transfer of certain aspects of the parental
602 role is the practice of fakahingoa 'to name'. The namer is usually
554 a high ranking kinsman of either the father or mother. Aoyagi (1966:
165-167) discusses this custom and the relationships involved. Quite
often the namer is the mehekitanga 'FZ', who is the highest ranking
kinsman in the first ascending generation of the names. Occasionally,
553 554 unrelated persons of high status within the community may be asked to
give a name such as persons with important church positions. The namer
is partially responsible for the moral welfare and training of the
names, and may be called upon to assist the child either through counseling
or by material assistance.

429 The Tongan term that I gloss as fosterage is tauhi meaning 'to protect',
or as a noun, 'guardian'. Under the arrangememts of fosterage
there is no alteration of the child's kinship status or inheritance
[593] rights. The jural parents retain the right to make any important decisions
affecting the child's training and future. As with adopters,
[602] guardians are usually kinsmen, but they may be compensated materially
by the jural parents for their role as protectors and providers. Examples
of circumstances leading to fosterage are periods of serious
illness of a parent, divorce or separation of jural parents, parents'
traveling and working abroad, or education opportunities available to
children by a change of residence.

597 I would like to define adoption as any putatively permanent transfer of child custody involving a transfer of primary rights of jural parenthood. Following this definition there are two types of adoption

597 Nurturance is a valued role, particularly for women. In about
[589] 5 percent of the adoptions, single women were the adopters, but in no
854 case did a single man adopt.[1] A Tongan infants are given a great deal of
care during their first year or two. They are always picked up and
held whenever they cry or show signs of discontent; they are always
held when going to sleep and only placed in bed after they are asleep.
Infants are bundled in wool and flannel clothing to protect them against
non-existent cold weather, but the extra clothing demonstrates the competence of the mother and gives psychological security for her.

593 Tongans also believe a childless couple is likely to quarrel and separate because "they have no reason to remain together". An obvious
[597] correlate of this belief is that a childless couple experiencing difficulties can solve their problems by adopting a child.

597 Children may also be adopted to replace the loss of a biological child or to provide a playmate for an only child. Parents who have had only boys or only girls often desire a child of the opposite sex and will adopt one. However, there seems to be no strong preference in sex of children; both sexes are adopted with about equal frequency.

Economic motivations are not often given as reasons for adopting, but children are obligated to assist aged parents materially, In a few cases children are adopted to provide heirs, but legally an adopted child cannot inherit land unless the adoption is recognized by the courts and, as demonstrated earlier, legal adoptions are relatively few.

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597 Motivations are somewhat different in declining household adoptions. In declining households the children are grown and usually have

A.[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

597 602 transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

593 597 [171] Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. In Tonga grand-
593 597 603 608 parents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

593 597 Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

[602] It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

597 602 An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second
[608] set of relationships. If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that

597 602 608 adopter. However, the other adopter would not have been related prior to the adoption, so all of that parent's kinsmen become kinsmen of the adoptee. In effect, the number of persons related ot the adoptee is increased by about one-third, and the intensity of some prior relationships is altered-classificatory siblings become "real" siblings and classificatory parents become "real" parents.

597 602 561 Adoption could also alter the adoptee's kinship rank. For instance, if a female was the youngest D of the youngest S and was adopted by her F's eldest Z, her position is almost completely altered and she becomes the highest ranking person of her generation with regard to her F's Kinsmen.

597 593 The adoptee's relationship to his biological parents varies from those cases where he rarely sees them to those cases where he is in almost daily contact with them. The biological parents may bring gifts [574] (578) of food and other items to their child and he may occasionally visit them for a few days; however, the more frequent and intense the contact between adoptee and biological parents, the more likely it is that friction will occur between the adopting parents and the biological parents.[2]

597 Adoptees frequently become the pele 'favorite' of their adopted parents and some Tongans think of adopted children as spoiled children. An adoptee is in a position to get special treatment from his adopted parents because he is more likely to be an only child, the only child of one sex, or the youngest or oldest child. Another possible reason for the special treatment of adoptees is that adopted parents fear the child will return to his biological parents unless they treat him kindly.

597 Exposition of one case will illustrate some of the complications
and alterations that result from adoption. Lutu was adopted at the age
of seven months by Va and Tevita; Va was Lutu's FMS but after the adoption
Lutu called Va *fa'e* 'mother' and Tevita *tamai* 'father'. Va had
one child of her own, a daughter, but the girl married young and left
597 home so Va wanted another child. When Lutu was nine years old, Va became
763 very ill and Lutu was sent back to live with his natural parents.
593 Va's illness continued for about a year and then she died; at that time
Lutu ran away and returned to live with Tevita, his adopted father.
593 During the next few years Lutu's mother came several times to take him
597 to her home but each time he ran away and waited until she had left to
578 return. During this period there were a lot of hard feeling between
Tevita and Lutu's biological parents. The last time Lutu's mother came
to take him back he was seventeen and he told her he was old enough to
decide for himself and he wanted to stay with Tevita.

597 When Lutu's biological mother died he did not go to her funeral,
764 but when his biological father died both he and his adopted father attended
593 the funeral. Lutu inherited nothing from his biological parents;
[428] all of their possessions went to a younger son. When Tevita died Lutu
inherited all his possessions.

597 The case is also an example of how adoption creates alternatives
602 for the adoptee. Both Lutu's biological parents and adopting parents
resided in the same village, but the biological parents had few kinsmen
within the village while the adopting father had several kinsmen. By
stressing his relationship with his adopting father, Lutu closely

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602 aligned himself with six household heads within the village, two of which held strong positions of leadership.

Summary

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181 Children are highly valued resources that satisfy certain social and psychological needs of Tongan adults. Those needs are, in turn, related to Tongan concepts of adulthood, parenthood, and family. Adoption is one process through which children, as resources, can be controlled and redistributed. The adoption process, then, reveals a great deal about parent-child relationships generally and about the importance of children to Tongan adults.
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602 Adoption is primarily a transaction confined to principals who are kinsmen. This strongly reflects the Tongan attitude that kinsmen constitute a close, more trustworthy group than do non-kinsmen.

Adoption results in a shift in the adoptee's kinship network without breaking ties established through biological parents. Consequently, the adoptee finds himself with increased options for affiliation and inheritance.

602 554 183 431 437 *Tamai*-*'Ofefine*: This relationship is generally the same as *tamai-foha* except *tamai* should be less severe toward *'ofefine* than toward *foha*. The flow of goods and services should be from *'ofefine* to *tamai*.

Mehekitanga-*Fakafotu*: *Mehekitanga* should always be shown respect; she is ego's highest ranking relative. *Mehekitanga* is responsible for teaching *fakafotu* respect and appropriate Tongan custom. Familiarity is strongly discouraged between *fakafotu* and *mehekitanga*. Any time that *fakafotu* catches fish, harvests his garden, or kills a pig, he should give *mehekitanga* a portion. The flow of goods and services, then, is from *fakafotu* to *mahekitanga*.

Tokoua-*Tokoua:* This relationship is more complicated than other kin dyads because ego's *tokoua* may be either above him or below him in rank. The key to ego's relationship with his *tokoua* is the relative rank of the connecting, consanguineal link so that *tokoua* related patrilaterally are higher ranking than ego, and those related matrilaterally are of lower rank than ego.

602 554 593 183 431 437 Ego should defer to FZC and FBC, and MSC and MBC should defer to ego. *Tokoua* of the same parents are ranked relative to each other according to age, but the ideal flow of goods and services within the sibling group is balanced. Younger siblings give to older siblings because of relative rank but older siblings are obligated to assist younger siblings also. In this relationship, then, the direction specified for material flow is from matrilateral *tokoua* to ego to patrilateral *tokoua*.

602 Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane: Tuonga'ane must show respect toward his
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183 tuofefine and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship.
431 Tuonga'ane cannot sleep in the same house as their tuofefine, they can-
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[784] not speak of sexulaly-related matters, and tuonga'ane and tuofefine
should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not
[593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the
welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and
goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from tuonga'ane to tuofefine.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is
554 in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods
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437 and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much
in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is
considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have
as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model
of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in
which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally
made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within
128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present
within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges
of goods and in the exchanges of children.

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not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly discribes kinship reciprocity.

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What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. [162] [594] I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

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As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composition.
[594] Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the relationships
593 431 established within the household and the family of orientation
437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and established new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 431 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
437 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution
of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 431 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1] A

592 602 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,
125 A.[For footnote, see p.123--Analyst]

597 602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So
592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the comparable
431 437 percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items
597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The
431 437 comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I
[858] interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely related group.

602 431 437 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transaction in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in individual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not
[597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors characteristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

121 relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

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437 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

[114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

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These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a conclusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and the model.

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Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

159 with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. [593] The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her [844] husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, [154] but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

154 Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

159 *Case 5.*—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect coconuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

159 177 It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing [165] with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a [853] heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

565 554 of lower rank. By and large, high rank is more highly esteemed than political power or political authority. Power and authority mean work and responsibility; high rank means pure privilege.

Personal rank depends not on whether one holds a title, but [593] [562] on sex, seniority, and descent. Sisters have higher rank than their brothers; elder siblings have higher rank than younger siblings; and the descendants of sisters have higher rank than the descendants of their brothers. Unlike a system of social class such as we are familiar with in our society, the Tongan system of rank is such that no two individuals can have the same rank. The society is not divided into ranked groups or categories; rather the conception is one of a line from the person of highest rank at the top to the person of lowest rank at the bottom. Moreover, personal rank is relative to the relationships involved. A man may be an 'aristocrat' (*'eiki*) at one funeral and a lowly kitchen worker at another, depending on how he is related to the deceased.

[428] [611] Unlike titles, which are normally inherited in the male line, personal rank is inherited from both parents. To be a great aristocrat means that one is descended, preferably through a line of eldest sisters, from the eldest sister of the former sacred King, the Tu'i Tonga, a title that is now defunct. Even the principles of rank in themselves may sometimes conflict. If a man marries a woman who is a great aristocrat and his sister marries a lowly commoner, the children of the respective marriages will be in a contradictory situation. According to one principle the children of the sister will have higher rank than the children of her brother, but according to the other principle (that descent from the Tu'i Tonga's sister confers high rank) the children of the brother will have higher rank. The resolution of such contradictions depends on the situation and the people involved, and gives rise to much gossip, ill-feeling, and amusement.

Like the dimension of political power, personal rank cuts across the other dimensions of stratification. This tendency was very marked in the traditional system. Many men of high rank

565 what follows that Bott was told by her Tongan informants
554 (p. 217) that 'Everything in the kava ceremony goes by titles.' As
has been indicated above, the three highest ranking titles in
the pre-European society were the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Haa
[643] Takalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu in that order. This ranking
of titles was expressed by saying that the first Tu'i Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of the Tu'i Tonga and that the first Tu'i Kanokupolu was a younger brother of the Tu'i Haa Takalaua (Gifford, 1929, p. 82), and today the relative status of titles is expressed by saying that the one is the elder or the younger brother of the other. But the relationship is between the titles, not between the holders of the titles.

[593] In matter of *personal* rank, a sister always ranked above her
[562] brother; hence, at any particular time, the male Tu'i Tonga
[643] was outranked, as an individual, by his sister, the female Tu'i
[644] Tonga (Tu'i Tonga Fefine).[3] In personal terms certain children
of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine might rank even higher.

848 In pre-Christian Tonga no clear distinction was made be-
554 tween regular marriage and temporary liaison. The offspring
resulting from a casual sexual encounter between an important man and a woman of low status might be classed as 'children in the bush', which implied that they were of low rank but they were not, in any meaningful sense, illegitimate. By the same token the offspring of a high ranking woman by a lower ranking man might have very high personal status.

644 In particular, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was entitled to sleep
554 with anyone she chose. When she cohabited in this way with
the holder of one or other of the 'Fijian' titles, Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Haa Teiho, a resultant son would inherit one of these titles and a daughter would become the Tamaha, who was the highest ranking individual in the whole system.

644 The Tamaha was often married to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who
643 ranked third in the chiefly hierarchy of titles but was the most
554 powerful chief in a political sense. It will be noted that the
adult Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Haa Teiho would then be the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's cross-cousin – Father's sister's son (see Gifford,

Tongans often spoke to me of the succession disputes as being *fakamā* 565
("shameful" or "embarrassing"), but this feeling concerned the public airing of 428
intra-kin group disputes, rather than behaviour specifically unbecoming nobles 829
as such. The implication from such popular response to title cases is that they
had become generally conceptualized just as Queen Sālote had apparently feared
they would: primarily as disputes among otherwise ordinary people for the
possession of chiefly resources in the form of landed wealth and honour embodied
in titled office. Perhaps most clearly the succession cases illustrate the disjunction 565
between chiefliness as formally defined, title-vested privilege and chiefliness as
an exclusive attribute of either kingly blood descent, kingly favour, or direct 428
descent from pre-Constitutional chiefly lines, vested in individuals. Although 554
aristocratic blood and title honour overlap on one extreme, the outcomes of
certain succession cases reveal the completely pedestrian nature of mere title-
holding, on the other, where a person, who possesses neither current blood
'eiki-ness nor is in the traditional direct line of succession, has gained access
through litigation to a title and enjoys the privileges and respects of a title-holder.

The noble title system is a set of offices with defined privileges that 565
represent a chiefly heritage in support of the Tupou dynasty, which may or may 428
not be all occupied at any point of time by the appropriate traditional title-
holding lines. In theory, it is appropriate for anyone, who legally qualifies, to [641]
be a noble, however his social standing may have declined in post-1875 Tongan [554]
society. Although certainly not open to broad segments of the population,
access to the nobility, as has been publicly demonstrated in court, is not all
that exclusive either.

Still, despite such demonstrations, the majority of gentry titles are held
by lines that have been in continuous possession of them from the
pre-Constitutional period. But even within these chiefly kin groups, succession 565
cases reveal the same sorts of striving, competition, and cooperation among 428
discrete family units that are also the social processes within all other, presumably
commoner, kin groups in modern Tonga. The chiefly kin groups differ only in 602
that they can compete for or share in specially defined resources (title-office and 593
associated estates) from which others are excluded. In the modern context,
noble title-holding only rarely entails active leadership of groups of people. 565
Outside leadership in ritual or ceremonial contexts, the regional and local chiefs [178]
have been supplanted by a bureaucratic state and church organization. Thus,
possessing a noble title and estates is a matter of enjoying a personal (and to
some extent family kin group) resource rather than accepting administrative
responsibilities.

What succession disputes have revealed most broadly, then, is that the 565
defined sector of privilege in the new order — the nobility — has been ringed on 571
all sides and thoroughly infiltrated by the socially levelling and individualizing 178
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612 within the group, depend primarily on the individual's know-
602 ledge of his consanguineal relatives and their whereabouts
184 (Morton, 1972).

602 The eldest sibling of a given sex is of highest rank;
● 593 among siblings, a female is of higher rank than the male;
554 and in marriage, the man's kinsmen are of a higher rank than
the woman's kinsmen. As a result, brothers and their children are of inferior rank to their sisters and their children. Likewise, children in any marriage are inferior to their father's kinsmen and superior to their mother's kinsmen.

The consequences of rank become more obvious when viewed in its traditional context. Traditionally, anyone of higher rank had rights to the property of kinsmen of inferior rank, both on the household and kainga levels. For example, a man's sister's children, referred to as 'ilamutu are all fahu (above the law) to him. The fahu can take any of the man's possessions and he is expected to make ceremonial presentations to his fahu (Kaeppler, 1971:188).

Similarily, the children can demand food or other material possessions from their other maternal kinsmen, but they must show respect toward and provide for their paternal kinsmen. All of these relationships between kinsmen, which are established by either birth or marriage, are similar for each person in the Tongan society. Every Tongan has inferior kinsmen and superior kinsmen, the relationships with whom
[562] are all unilateral. Although the female is superior in rank

602 to her male siblings, in matters pertaining to leadership
593 and inheritance, males generally take precedence. Accordingly,
554 the head of the household is generally the oldest
562 male and is referred to as the **tangata 'eiki** (chiefly man),
[612] and the highest ranking member of the larger kin group,
[592] **kainga** or **famili**, is generally the oldest male in the senior
male line and is referred to as the **'ulumotu'a** (the elderly
head) or sometimes the **ulu'ifamili** (head of the family).
In some cases, however, the oldest sister, because of her
superior rank, will be regarded as the **ulu'motu'a** or **ulu'-ifamili**.

428 In cases of inheritance, however, the right of primogeniture
within the patrilineal group prevails. For example,
if a man dies, his eldest son or sometimes his younger
brother will inherit his title, land, and other possessions
A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no
brothers and, in effect, inherits from his mother's father.
602 This system of kinship ties establishes a network of inter-
612 relationships which governs a person's social behavior within
the **kainga** thoughout his lifetime.

602 Among kinsmen, these ties still provide the main basis
437 for redistribution and exchange of products from the traditional
602 agricultural system. On the household level, these
592 ties are operative on a day-to-day basis. Among the larger
[612] kin group, however, the **kainga**, the position of **'ulumotu'a** is
[178] more ceremonial than it was in the past. Since the Consti-

167 simply cannot find the same number
464 of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming
179 unavoidable as food items become
241 scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A

[435] In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in
871 the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year
only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage
464 employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the
[645] Tongan economy.[12] B

As a result of this untenable situation, the
457 New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971.
434 This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-
464 1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas
totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, ~~this~~ had
increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money,
along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade
deficit.[13] C (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided
Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the
previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24
percent.)

Though the work scheme improves the bal-
[439] ance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned
by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to
New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the
● [593] overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to
[586] family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D
Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as
[648] a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their
rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government
requested the New Zealand government to initiate such
a work program.[15] E While there may be some short-term
benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work
scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

The Tongan government and private entre-
179 preneurs must encourage the diversification of the
464 Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work
schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that
457 tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F

Besides being small-scale, tourism is un-
457 reliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In
434 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled
their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air
travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early
in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A &93-B--Analyst]

464 871 The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

464 167 457 To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 US$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 US$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (US$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of US$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this
[593] [586] unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

177 Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-
674 174 induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

179 457 In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

457 Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-
252 fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-
fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
[175] voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
[643] (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
[178] ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

535 The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate 6a)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
[178] dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
[181] contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the place-
● [593] ment of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
[554] status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
127 totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our under-
121 standing of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

175 [A] [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

/22 cont./

181 despite their large department stores, movies and colorful life and
823 bustle, do not have an irresistible attraction. The Tongans like
to travel there, especially to shop, or for entertainment, to visit
a relative or to attend a large festival. Still generally they soon
return to their small island, lost in the ocean, and despite a certain
wanderlust, there are also a number of Tongan men and women who
never leave the island they were born on. "Flight from the country,"
a general "Rush toward the city" is not observable.

181 The Tongan with his kind nature is very emotional in matters of
152 human concern. This shows in his daily life, at arrivals and departures of relatives and friends, and especially in church where their
empathy for the biblical passages discussed will bring tears to the
eyes of most preachers and many of the faithful (men as well as
women); such emotions can become so intense that the preacher's sobbing may make his words unintelligible. Yet /23/ there is also no
[593] dearth of examples of hardness and brutality. Some Tongans beat
[578] their wives badly, and gory brawls among young natives do occur. The
public, however, does not regard these incidents as an ordinary
state of affairs, but is quite aware that they are exceptions.
181 Animals, on the other hand, are outside the emotions of the Tongans
825 and, in the eyes of the natives, are not regarded as creatures with
(152) feelings of their own. They are usually subject to brutal, not merely
harsh treatment, according to our ideas. Thirsty horses and cattle
tethered in the bush are, as a rule, reluctantly led to watering
places, (26)

26. On Nomuka in December 1951 a bull perished from "dehydration" when its owner "forgot" to water it.

and the starving, half-parched, degenerate dogs are usually hit with
heavy objects or harshly stepped on if they timidly and meekly come

/63 cont./

588 178. In 'Uiha/'Uiha, for example, five of the 82 marriages existing in April 1952 were common-law marriages.

423 425 The economic basis of the family is now generally individual land ownership: every male Tongan at the age of 16 may receive eight and one-half acres of taxable land (for cultivation) and property for his dwelling in the village. (179)

[593] 179. If there is no more land to be given out on one's home island, one may apply for it, for example, on Tongatapu where larger areas are still available. But most of the natives prefer to stay with their parents and share in working their land, possibly inheriting it, or they move in with relatives.

591 582 As a rule, therefore, the wife at her marriage moves to the place of her husband which he has received as his right or which he has taken over from his father or shares with his family. The two spouses either come from the same village, (180)

180. This is the case particularly in larger villages and on remote islands.

or one spouse, usually the woman, comes from /64/ another village or another island. Married couples seldom move to a new place. (181)

[823] [423] [425] 181. Besides a deeply rooted feeling for their home place, greater difficulties in the question of land acquisition by non-residents on most of the Tonga islands are the reason.

For example, in the typical village of 'Uiha of the Ha'apai group on the island of 'Uiha, (182)

182. A large village on a somewhat remote island.

of 61 married couples, both partners were born in 'Uiha; of 15 couples, two husbands and 13 wives came from elsewhere, and of six couples, both partners came from other islands of the Archipelago. (183)

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)
were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[427] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[591] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

/67 cont./

593 837 ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is
[178] understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something
587 resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners
586 dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus, in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha, there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife "departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning,
178 and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married
586 life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to
587 Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

[562] Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change in favor of the wife.

581 However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in
178 old times, (193)

586 177 193. Also compare the figures given above with reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/68 cont./

592 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict
181 Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded
as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans
with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites.
592 As in old times, (198)

462 198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing,
house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and
the children, plaits mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor," p. 336 ff.

● 593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet,
harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well
as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their
children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often
tender care of their children for granted. This family life
(178) corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description
given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with
861 admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the
Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather
strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general,
[867] however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform
tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head,
784 to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him.
(178) This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example,
often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in
his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

593 /69 cont./
784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their
parents.

593 The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes,
784 although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for
178 example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or
[513] twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-
style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while
the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the
[177] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom
[513] being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with
closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the
brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor
the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed;
[516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the
sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting,
near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her
brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets
up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly
crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together
[264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a
meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit
next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and
[521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always
had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered
from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means
about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad
words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also
not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes
occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/69 cont./

593 brother-sister taboo, seem to have occurred only during the past
784 decades, for the stricter rules are still clear in the memory of
178 all older people. The child-father taboo has been extensively
relaxed because the belief /70/ in the power of this taboo (sickness
or death as punishment for non-observance) is to a considerable
extent lost on the "enlightened" present generation. A certain
[562] observance of the brother-sister taboo may be explained as an
exaggerated natural sexual avoidance among siblings, as well as
the brother's social recognition of the ordinarily higher rank of
his sister; for the restrictions mentioned are observed for reasons
of "good upbringing" and not because of fear of the punishing power
of a taboo.

593 Although the woman in Tonga society enjoys a highly respected
562 social position, the man in the family has full authority, even if
[178] his wife originally comes from a higher social rank than he. This
state of affairs is the same as in ancient Tonga. (201)

201. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 98, 179.

592 When the head of the family dies, the eldest son becomes the head
428 of the family. If he proves unqualified, the next older brother
[178] takes his place. This arrangement very probably existed even in
ancient Tonga.

842 Today, as in pre-European times, these natives are not familiar
with birth control. Suggestions to the government by white
officials for birth control fell on deaf ears. No one among the
people seems to be interested in birth prevention. Children cause
relatively little expense, for more eaters at daily meals will soon
mean more helpers for work. Only a few members of the government
foresee the threat of overpopulation of the islands in 30 or 50 years.

887 Old people living with younger married couples or independently

/78 cont./

585 (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile
[602] (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the
[252] bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest
[593] of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro
etc.

[602] After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their
[565] relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and
[184] religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding
ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order
292 to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally.
[302] Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or
[301] a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders
and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

/85 cont./

763 a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a
[343] house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such
[565] a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death
takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his
condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his
bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from
764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water
and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The
[784] child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is
[593] then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala
(a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's
clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light
blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or
more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover
the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for
example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa
(ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a
shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan
oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with
[784] a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman)
is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive.
They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)^ and take a seat in the
house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the
sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray,
[354] weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some
[177] ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a
[565] substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

^ [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

000 /305 cont./
T
F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 T F influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far
more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of
adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes;
T the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is
apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga,
is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it
a deeper significance.

T
F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-
593 sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 T survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
F drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
601 T F kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
585 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show
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764
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101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more
369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences
369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre-
596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the
593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never
[594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear
[591] families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban
[166] family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

369
596 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household
593 is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly
591 urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating rela-
166 tives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbaniza-
tion was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to
166 economic and social pressures for education, employment and the
prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the tra-
ditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are
indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are
expected to continue.

436 With the development of cash cropping and a greater depend-
178 ency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential
to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obli-
gations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is
also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence
178 needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase
241 cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation
182 from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency
upon the land for production of food and material necessities.
[458] These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World
[731] War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and
hurricanes.

369 While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to
166 most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor,
[464] sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by 872
clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from
side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their
voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old [634]
chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the
missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd [565]
outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for 874
the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty (123)
persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we
entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides [565]
of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English,
arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and ciphering
exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame
containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one
after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with
particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the
missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out 874
various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was immediately 123
pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the
Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then [634]
shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack
immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands
in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily.
Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the
Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest 874
of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives
of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with [593]
marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The
missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school
for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there
were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight
being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belonging
to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female students,
eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was
also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native 874
teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of 351
ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is
cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a [346]
broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs [245]
along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the
teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main
walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of 123
the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the